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The Forum

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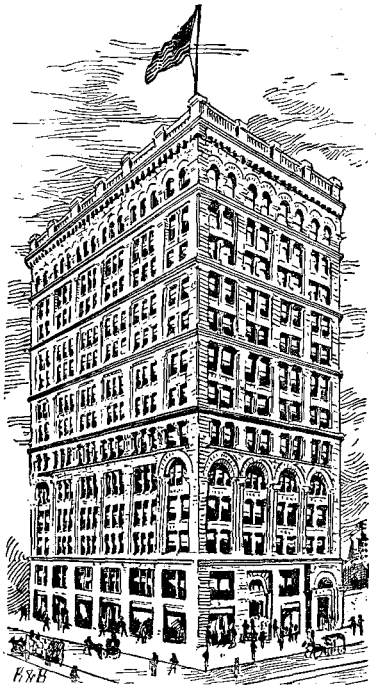

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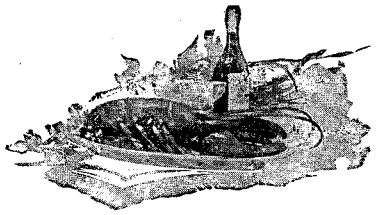

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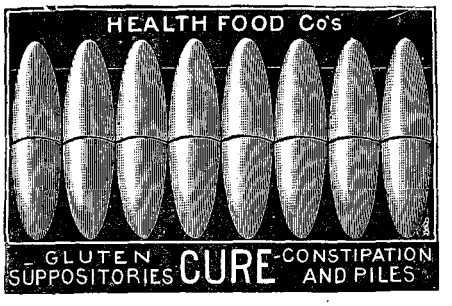

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The Forum

FEBRUARY, 1894.

METHODS OF RELIEF FOR THE UNEMPLOYED.

THE problem, how to help the unemployed, which is now being faced by us in New York, in common with the people of many other cities of the United States, is distinct from that which is yearly presented in the city of London and elsewhere in England.

Our trouble is an acute disease. Theirs is a chronic condition. Ours is due to a combination and accumulation of various and exceptional causes. Theirs is due also to various causes, but those causes are persistent. There is great danger that this fact may be forgotten, and that the chronic condition may be encouraged in New York and in other American cities by action which is necessary and beneficial in the present emergency, but which, if it came to be considered as wise under ordinary circumstances, would, on the contrary, prove to be most unwise and suicidal.

It cannot be too often and emphatically insisted upon, that, as the chronic distress and the acute distress of the unemployed are distinct in character, and due to distinct and different causes, they also affect distinct classes of people and require distinct remedies, and that what is said of one will probably be entirely inapplicable to the other. To confound them is to tend to merge them, and to convert the acute disease into the chronic condition. The problem in the one case is simply to afford the best makeshift for regular work, and to "tide over" a period of temporary calamity. In the other case, the problem is to change either the character of large numbers of human beings or the conditions surrounding them, or both.

I shall consider first the more serious evil, and (setting aside any discussion of the deeper causes which probably underlie the greater

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number of social evils, this included, such as unjust systems of taxation, unjust relations between employers and employed, unjust social conditions) I shall endeavor to point out what are the immediately *manageable* causes which tend to increase the constant number of the unemployed in cities, and to show how the evil might be met and, in a great measure, prevented.

What explanation can be given of a condition of chronic "seasonal" distress in any given community? There are several reasonable causes to be assigned for the phenomenon, each of which is, or may be, responsible for a part of the evil. It means, if it is unskilled labor which suffers year after year for the necessities of life, either that the individuals who suffer are unable to perform labor in sufficient quantity, or of the kind which would bring them in return the means of civilized living, or that they are actually in excess,—are "surplus labor"; that is, that they are not needed to do the work of that particular community. If this is not the explanation; if it is not the unskilled, but the skilled, workmen who suffer each year from recurrent distress, then the explanation is to be found either in inadequate wages, which, being paid only during the working part of the year, are insufficient to maintain a family during the whole year, or else in want of thrift on the part of the working people themselves.

We have thus three explanations of a chronic state of distress of the unemployed in any community: (1) A surplus of unskilled labor; (2) low wages; (3) improvidence. The usual remedies applied to meet such distress are all directly calculated, not only to aggravate it when it exists, but to create it. These remedies are charitable relief, charitable work, and, when the evil becomes so great as to attract public attention, relief by public works.

One difficulty being a congestion in one city of people who cannot earn a decent living, every means which could serve to attract more people are put in operation. Charitable relief—the prospect of living without work—will appeal to large classes of persons, while those too respectable to be lured to the city by such means are drawn thither by the promise of work. The suffering being partly caused by low wages, again charitable relief is given, which, by supplementing wages, enables those receiving it to underbid their competitors, and thus selfish employers are assisted in their efforts to crush their work-people below a living standard of wages, while the efforts of the better class of employers to raise wages are counteracted, and wages are reduced still lower. One cause of the evil to be remedied

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being improvidence, persons who are naturally disinclined to provide for their future wants are encouraged to continue in that course by the assurance that some one else will provide for them, while those who have struggled and suffered to protect themselves against want are discouraged by finding themselves no better off than their thriftless neighbors.

That public works will supply no remedy for chronic distress of the unemployed is evident, *a priori*, since they do not diminish the causes of the trouble, but, on the contrary, aggravate them; but experience has also plainly demonstrated the fact in many different cases. One striking example will suffice here.

Edward Denison, who had studied the question with great thoroughness, writing in 1869, says:

"Looking, however, to the existing conditions of life in large towns, I cannot think it desirable to do anything which may stimulate the present tendency of mankind to bind together in large masses. But this is just what public works must necessarily do.

"You may begin by giving a job to those who are temporarily out of work. Nothing seems more harmless; yet the spectacle of certain and continuous employment will too surely draw to the place which exhibits it a continually increasing swarm from less favored localities. . . . It may not be uninteresting to look at the results obtained in France under a system which virtually makes every large town a labor-yard for the unemployed.

"Between the years 1851–61 the total population of France was increased by 934,084 souls (I omit the annexed provinces of Savoy and Nice). Within the same period the population of the four largest towns of the Empire, viz., Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, and Bordeaux, was increased by 808,862 souls. . . .

"It is the nature of this precious remedy to create the disease it is meant to allay; and while only 1,161 houses were demolished at Paris in 1866, it was found necessary to knock down 2,325 in 1868 [to give employment to workmen].

"It will be objected that if people flock to the towns it is because they find themselves better off than in the country.

"But do they? My complaint is that the rush is an ignorant rush, which carries its dupes over the precipice into the gulf of pauperism, of crime, of disease, of starvation, of despair.

"What are the facts at Paris, where the whole might of an omnipotent administration has for sixteen years been directed to the satisfaction of the workman's wants?

"Why, here is what M. Jules Favre said last Saturday in the *Corps Législatif*:—

"'Expelled by the rise of rents, first from the interior of Paris, next from the suburbs, the workman has taken refuge on open ground outside the fortifications. There you may see hordes of them bivouacking on the ground, or huddled into hovels of brick, of wood, and even of tarred pasteboard. It is a picture of barbarism by the side of civilization.'

"Of the workmen whose condition is thus painted by M. Favre there are, by the admission of the Minister of State, over 300,000 in Paris, exclusive of the families which, of course, many of them have.

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"All this, let it not be forgotten, in a city where £74,000,000 sterling have, in the course of sixteen years, been expended on works undertaken mainly for the purpose of employing the people."

But it is not necessary to go back a quarter of a century or to a foreign country to prove that temporary employment on a large scale, freely advertised, is not a means of preventing, but, on the contrary, creates, distress and vagrancy and begging in the locality where it is given. The present deplorable condition of Chicago is plainly due to the fact that $30,000,000 have been spent there in temporary work during the past three years. Not only the industrious and *bona fide* searchers for regular work were drawn to Chicago in the expectation of well-paid employment, but all the aimless wanderers who think they can "better themselves" by any change assembled there. The migration of the latter class was sufficiently marked to affect New York city, which was remarkably free from them during the winter of 1892.

What, then, are the remedies which can be applied to this great evil? The mere statement of its causes, which I will recapitulate, carries with it the suggestion of the natural remedies. (1) A surplus of unskilled labor; (2) low wages; (3) improvidence. To diminish the surplus of unskilled labor, one plain remedy is to cease to attract more unskilled people to the spot where there are already too many, and to deal with such as come naturally in a way which, while good for them, will not be agreeable to them. Another obvious course is to convert unskilled into skilled labor by education and training; and still a third, if the evil is threatening, is to endeavor by "migration" and emigration to diminish by physical means the overcrowding. The natural remedy for low wages is the formation of the various trades into Unions, or other labor organizations; and fortunately this is a work which will go on with increasing success, with the growth of intelligence and energy on the part of the working people themselves, and of a sense of justice on the part of employers. For improvidence the remedy is not to encourage this defect of character by rendering both its natural punishment and the natural rewards of thrift inoperative, which is done when the suffering which ought to result from it is warded off.

We turn now to the contemplation of the more painful but far less important phenomenon of the sufferings of our own unemployed fellow citizens in New York at the present moment. In repeating what I said at the beginning of this article, that the acute disease which afflicts us is entirely distinct from the chronic condition of

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which I have been writing, I must not be understood to say that there is no chronic distress in New York. To a comparatively small extent such distress always exists here, as in other localities where unwise methods tempt weak human beings to relinquish the struggle to maintain themselves and to look to others for a maintenance, which often fails them at the most critical moment of their lives. It is not the chronic distress of the "unemployed," however, but of other classes of which I shall speak later.

The present acute distress may be said, broadly speaking, to be among men and women who have always supported themselves, and who have done their best to provide for the future of themselves and their families; and the want in which they now find themselves is not due usually to moral or intellectual defects on their own part, but to economic causes over which they could have had no control, and which were as much beyond their power to avert as if they had been natural calamities of fire, flood, or storm.

It is evident that, to meet this distress, measures which would not be suitable in dealing with chronic distress are a necessity. In this case, education and moral training are, as a rule, not what is needed, but direct relief of temporary and pressing needs. But here arises the danger of encouraging chronic dependence in the weakest members of the class who are suffering, and, although in regard to the bulk of them there is no such danger, these weakest members must be protected against degeneration while their temporary needs are supplied. Another danger to be guarded against is that the relief offered to those who are only suffering from acute distress, and which is suitable to them, may not reach them, but may be turned aside and seized upon by the people who are in chronic need, and thus both increase the numbers of the latter and aggravate their condition.

To avoid these two dangers, the relief offered must be of a kind which those in acute distress will accept because it does not offend their self-respect, and which will not tempt those in a chronic state to depend on others.[1]

[1] The most obvious form of relief which meets these conditions is that of regular work, and the highest "charity" in such a situation as now exists in New York is that of employers who continue their business at a loss,—even borrowing money if possible,—to avoid throwing their employees out of work, or who do work now which naturally would not be done until some months hence. Municipalities, although not justified in spending money raised by taxation in any unnecessary works, or for the benefit of individuals, may well take into consideration the actual condition, and "expedite work" (to use the English official phrase) which are necessary, and which have been decided on for the benefit of the community.

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"Relief work" seems the natural remedy, but relief work is a very dangerous thing. It tempts the industrious because it is called work, and is usually highly paid as compared to regular work, to leave the latter, which is permanent, and to depend on the relief work, which soon fails them; and it tempts the unstable and the lazy because it is not continuous and they are allowed to work in a slack and unworkmanlike manner. Relief work, to be a benefit and not an injury, must therefore be *continuous*, *hard*, and *underpaid*. A regular day's work for six days in the week must be given. The work should not be advertised. Publicity will only attract large numbers of persons to whom work cannot be given, and the result will be disappointment to them and added trouble to those managing the enterprise.

These conditions, so far from repelling the men and women in acute distress, to aid whom alone such work should be undertaken, are gratefully accepted by them. They wish to feel that they are earning every cent that is given to them, and are earning it fairly and honestly, and they recognize that the effort to supply them with such work saves them from starvation, for they would choose that for themselves and their children rather than accept "charitable relief." On the other hand, however, habitual "relief-seekers," who are ready and anxious to live on alms, turn with scorn from work eagerly sought for by the self-supporting workingman, declaring that it would degrade them. There is no more striking proof of the different classes, morally and socially, to which these men belong, than their attitude toward the work offered them as relief.

In order that relief work may be thoroughly guarded, and do the utmost good possible and the least harm, those who manage it must be guided by fixed rules. The London Charity Organization Society published in December, 1889, some very valuable "Suggestions and Suggested Rules for Dealing with Exceptional Distress by Local Committees," from which I quote the portions relative to relief work.

"If public or other works are opened—

"(1) Men should be admitted to them only after inquiry or on satisfactory recommendation.

"(2) The wages and the hours should be as nearly as possible according to contract rates.

"(3) Care should be taken to supply sufficient overlookers, and to group the men according to character and ability.

"(4) If a meal is wanted, or clothing, it is better that this should be supplied separately, from a relief fund. The employment should be given, as far as possible, in accordance with ordinary business contracts, and not as 'charity work,'

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which tends to be as ill-done as it is ill-paid, and to degrade men instead of improving them.

"(5) . . . Such works only should be undertaken as are likely to create the least disturbance in the labor market."

Some of the dangers of relief work are pointed out in the "Concluding Summary" of the Report of the British Board of Trade on "Agencies and Methods for Dealing with the Unemployed," published in September, 1893, from which I will quote a few lines:

"Temporary projects of relief work, such as those started by local authorities last winter, are usually intended to tide workmen over periods of seasonal slackness or special trade depression. So far as they discharge this function they obviate much suffering, at least for the time. The evidence, however, given in an earlier part of this report, based on the experience of the past winter, seems to show that there is a danger lest the offer of relief work be chiefly embraced by members of the loafing and shiftless class, to the partial or total exclusion of the competent victims of trade fluctuations; for in England, as in Germany, these classes do not easily mix (p. 408). . . . It is possible, of course, to underrate as well as to overrate the utility of temporary assistance. Even if those who receive it relapse shortly after into their former condition, their suffering has in many cases been mitigated for the time being. But against the advantages of all schemes for providing work for the unemployed must be set the grave danger of their tendency to become chronic, and to be looked forward to and counted on every winter; a danger on which it is unnecessary to make any comment" (p. 409).

The conclusion forced upon us by all experience seems to be that relief work, although the best means of helping the unemployed in seasons of exceptional and acute distress, is apt to fail of its object unless administered with the most conscientious care. The reason for the difficulties presented in dealing with the question of relief for the unemployed is to be found in the existence in every community of two other classes of persons who are a constant burden upon the public, and who are distinct from the genuine workers, whether the latter be in distress every winter or only once in ten years.

1. There are the unfortunates, called tramps, vagrants, or loafers. These men, whether by their own fault or not, have become so unfit for regular work or decent living, that they require a course of severe discipline before even an attempt to reform them can be made. These are the recipients of almost all the free lodgings, free food, and free clothing, carelessly scattered in times of exceptional distress, and to them these gifts are the means of continuing a degraded and degrading life. They go from city to city as they learn that here or there the most lavish preparations are being made to "relieve the unemployed," and they are a pest wherever they go. In a paper on "The Unemployed" by John Burns of London, Mem-

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ber of Parliament and of the London County Council, socialist and labor-leader, published in the "Nineteenth Century" in December, 1892, he says: "Till the tramp, thief, and ne'er-do-weel, however pitiable he may be, is dealt with distinctly from the genuine worker, no permanent benefit will result to any of them." There is no doubt that miscalled "charity," in furnishing the means of dissipated living to these unhappy beings, who should be forced into a decent existence or kept in close confinement, commits a great sin against them and against the community.

2. Next, and sometimes far above these, are the regular "relief-seekers," people who often have many virtues, but whose state of distress is due to inherent defects, either of body, mind, or character, and these also are encouraged in their weakness by "charity." They usually lack energy, skill, courage, and self-respect, as well as other qualities which are necessary to success, and they need, far more than anything else, training, education, encouragement. To offer them free meals and free clothing is to tempt them to degrade themselves, and perhaps in time to enter the ranks of the tramps.

These two classes constitute "the poor," and it was doubtless of such people that Christ spoke when he rebuked Judas for his attempt to secure alms for them, since alms could not minister to their need. Neither of these classes is included among the "unemployed," although both complicate every attempt to relieve the distress of the latter. The tramps ought to be left to the law to deal with, and the "relief-seekers" can have their wants supplied by members of church and charitable societies, when it is once fully realized that the development of character and of the capacity for self-help is their most urgent need.

But the greatest danger of all in trying to find artificial means of support for any class of men or women is lest, by the very means which are adopted to help one hundred or one thousand, ten thousand should be injured. The sole permanent dependence of the great mass of the toiling, striving men and women who carry on their weary tasks without comment or complaint is regular work, and if, by the attempt to supply the comparatively few who have temporarily lost this resource, there is any interference with trade or the regular market, which reacts unfavorably upon the producers, a greater mischief has been done than any amount of relief work or charitable effort can repair or atone for.

JOSEPHINE SHAW LOWELL.

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THE PERSONAL PROBLEM OF CHARITY.

My object in this article is an unambitious one. It is not to prescribe a cure for poverty, or even a remedy for the present distress. It is not to propose any comprehensive plans for the employment of the thousands who are out of work, or for their relief by new methods of organized charity. The article grows out of my own experience. There must be many like myself, who have but a small surplus of either money, time, or energy to devote to the problem of the unemployed; not enough to form any plans for its solution, or even to coöperate, to any great extent, in the plans which others, with more wisdom or more leisure, or both, are able to form, but who yet can contrive, by wise economies, to secure a little money, a little time, a little vital force which they would like to use for the benefit of others less happily situated than themselves. On this personal problem I have pondered somewhat, and the result of these ponderings I set down here, much as one might do in his own commonplace book.

The unprosperous and dependent may be roughly divided into three classes, although the classification, as in all cases of vital phenomena, is imperfect, and the classes merge into one another. There are first the really helpless and incompetent—little children deprived by death—or worse than death—of parental care, idiots and insane, hopeless invalids, the blind, the deaf, the crippled. Some of these, despite their disadvantages, care for themselves; others are cared for by individual friends, still others in hospitals and asylums; while a few use their misfortunes as their capital, and to aid them in their chosen profession of beggary, and so belong to the second class.

This second class includes those who are able but unwilling to work; they believe that the world owes them a living, and they devote themselves to collecting the debt. They are perfectly contented to be carried, and all their little energy is devoted to finding some one to carry them. They would rather live in laziness with a ten-cent bed in a lodging-house, a three-cent cup of coffee and roll for breakfast, free soup for dinner, and whiskey between

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times for fuel, than work and earn a decent living. These are the tramps and vagrants that infest our streets, crowd the free-soup houses, implore the passer-by for money wherewith to purchase a railroad ticket to the next town, or occasionally ask at the front door for work, only to find an excellent excuse for not doing the work if by any chance it is offered to them. Some years ago, at our country house, we were visited by a procession of tramps, pathetically imploring work. We wanted a new cistern, got ready to give them work, offered a job to any applicant,—and the procession mysteriously ceased. Our neighbors had as many applications for work as before; but we had none.

The third class is made up of men and women who are willing to work but unable to find an opportunity. There can be no question that at the present time this is a very large class, and it is likely to grow constantly larger throughout the winter. There are in the community—and have been in all ages and all communities—a large class of men who are entirely competent to do work which is provided for them, but utterly incompetent to provide themselves with work. Such a man, if you find him the piece of ground, the utensils, the seed, and the market for his products, will raise the garden-truck; but he cannot pitch on the proper place, determine what to raise, nor find a purchaser for his produce. There are many so-called "skilled workmen," who can do one thing well; but if a time comes when the community no longer wants that one thing, they are in distress. To the question "Why stand ye here idle?" such men give the answer of their prototypes in the parable,—"Because no man hath hired us."

I have a neighbor at my country home who I suppose never earned over $1.75 a day, who has a family of six or seven children, all well clothed, fed, and housed, and—thanks to the public-school system—educated; and whose home is paid for out of his earnings. I doubt whether he was ever idle a day in his life. If the mill stops running he gets a job at the brick-yard. If the brick-yard discharges its men, he gets a chance in somebody's garden. If everything else fails, he has a hand loom and weaves rag-carpets, which are ready for sale when the season comes round. And he is rarely overstocked.

I have another neighbor, whose earnings have never been any larger, who has brought up a family of children, and now in his old age has enough to ensure him and his wife a comfortable maintenance. But when he was working in the brick-yards he tells me he

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kept two purses,—a summer and a winter purse,—and divided his wages each week equally between the two, so that when fall came on he had a full purse to carry him through the winter. Since he has grown too old for the hard work of the brick-yards he has resumed his earlier occupation of gardening, and does about half work at about half pay, and very glad I am to have his work and his friendship.

Such men never become dependent on their neighbors. They are never among the unemployed, because they have the ability to employ themselves. It is because there are in the community so many who have not the ability to employ themselves that the public distress is so great and the public problem so serious.

It is something toward the solution of a problem to have it clearly stated. This, then, is our problem to-day: What does the law of love—"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself"—require of the busy man of moderate income but comfortable circumstances, in view of the fact that there are in his immediate vicinity men who are willing to work, but are unable to provide productive work for themselves?

1. It is perfectly clear that love ought not to confound this man with the idle, the prodigal, the shiftless, and the vicious beggar. To do this is a monstrous injustice, however it is done. This is the fatal objection to all schemes of wholesale charity—soup-houses, beef and bread distribution, and the like. Put yourself in his place. Imagine that you had been discharged from your customary employment; that you had sought in vain for a chance to continue it under some other employer; that there was but one thing you could do, and you could find no one who wanted it done; that your little savings, laid up for a rainy day, had been exhausted; that your credit at the butcher's and grocer's was gone; and that your family were cold and hungry. What would you think of the charity which bids you crowd and elbow your way through, or take your place in line with, a throng of drunken, idle, vicious vagabonds, many of whom had never done a good honest day's work in the world, some of whom came for the soup or the bread only that they might spend in whiskey the dime they had earned by a chance job? I think my heart would burn with an indignation at this injustice, which I had never felt at the misfortune which had fallen upon me. I might submit to the self-degradation rather than allow my wife and children to suffer; but it would be with a hot heart at the false pretence of charity which degraded me. Love cannot be unjust; and all schemes of indis-

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criminate charity are unjust—grossly, wickedly unjust. In them, as in giving a dime to the chance beggar in the street, or cold victuals to the chance beggar at the street door, there is no love—there is no charity. Such giving is mere idle, lazy, self-pleasing sentiment, or a contrivance to get rid of a disagreeable object, or to satisfy a self-indulgent good nature; or at best to throw a sop to a teasing conscience. All careless and indiscriminate giving is condemnable, not only because it aggravates the evil it pretends to cure, but because it confounds the innocent with the guilty, and because it is not love at all, but a sham and false pretence of love, which never deceives the dishonest beggar and always degrades and angers the honest and deserving poor. The one duty which love owes to "the man who will not work" is the enforcement of the law, "neither shall he eat." There is no love in taking off from men the natural penalty of their wrong-doing *while they continue in the wrong-doing.* That a man was idle yesterday is no reason why I should not help him to-day. But there is very good reason why I should not help him to continue in his idleness.

2. Every man ought to guard against adding to the general distress by increasing the number of the unemployed. Every man discharged to-day is an added burden to the community. Mr. Carnegie has set an admirable example, in his reported public announcement that his mills will continue running. It is true that no business can be carried on permanently at a loss; but business can be carried on without a profit, or even temporarily at a loss, and at such times as these other considerations than those of profit and loss should be taken account of. We hear much in these days of "captains of industry." When a ship is injured and sinking, the captain is the last to leave it. The time will come when no captain of industry will throw overboard part of his crew in order to save his cargo intact. Will come? The kingdom of God is at hand! To-day many an employer is deliberately hazarding his fortune in order to save his employees. This is the law of love. And it can be applied in many ways. All economies sooner or later affect labor, but those which affect it soonest should be last applied. It is a mistake for the household which ordinarily employs three servants, to discharge one and get along with two, unless inexorable necessity compels. Tolstoï and Ruskin are not to be followed this winter: rather, no man is to do for himself what he can hire some one poorer and less competent to do for him. If a boy wants to carry your

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satchel in the street, let him do it. It is a better charity than ten cents to a tramp for a lodging. These seem very insignificant suggestions; but if every reader of THE FORUM will look about him for an opportunity to give employment, and be careful to take none away, the aggregate relief would be not inconsiderable.

3. The next suggestion is analogous: it is that each individual become the almoner of his own bounty. The modern recipe for poverty is "organized charity," and that is an admirable recipe, provided it is charity and not suspicion or indifference that is organized. The problem is, What duty do we owe to the unfortunate? And the answer is found in the law, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." If we do love him, and we organize to help him, that is well. But if we do not love him, but suspect him, and fear him, and are bothered by him, and organize to investigate him and get rid of him, that is not well. In reacting against indiscriminate giving we are in danger of falling into officialism. We cannot comply with the divine law by saying to ourselves, "Go to! It is quite too much trouble to love our neighbor as ourselves. We will have a secretary to love him for us." The Bureau of Charities, the Association for Relieving the Condition of the Poor, and whatever other organizations there may be, are admirable contrivances to supplement individual and personal service; but they are monstrosities if they are contrivances to get rid of personal service. It is doubtful whether any man on either side of the water knows more directly and personally concerning the problem of the poor than the Rev. Samuel A. Barnett, the founder of Toynbee Hall; and Mr. Barnett thus closes a recent article in "The Fortnightly Review," on "The Unemployed":

> "If to-morrow every one who cares for the poor would become the friend of one poor person—forsaking all others—there would next week be no insoluble problem of the unemployed, and London would be within measurable distance of becoming a city of happy homes."

I am not so sanguine as Mr. Barnett; I think that there are other social and industrial remedies to be applied; but this personal friendship of the well-to-do for the poor is fundamental. Out of it all other remedies would grow; without it all other remedies will be in vain. A basket of coal accompanied by a grip of the hand will carry more warmth than two baskets of coal sent by an impersonal ticket.

In the city of Brooklyn,—perhaps elsewhere also—several Fragment Societies have been formed; mainly societies of ladies. They collect second-hand clothing, pay the poor to repair it, supervise the

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repairing, and then sell it for very small sums to those who are not able to buy good clothing at the stores, and who therefore either go unclad, or buy the cheapest and hence the most expensive shoddy. Is this practicable? Will they buy? Entirely practicable. They do buy, are eager to buy, and thankful for the opportunity to buy, more thankful often than for a gift of clothing.

The Fragment Society does not stop here. One comfortable home takes in its keeping one poor home; and the waste for the one, eked out by occasional gifts, or perhaps by some supplies from the Association for Relieving the Condition of the Poor, preserves the other home from want. And it goes as the gift and with the consideration of a personal friend. A loveless gift discredits him who gives, and degrades him who receives. The problem how to give without love, and do good, not harm, is an insoluble problem. The thing cannot be done. Instinctively one recalls James Russell Lowell's "Vision of Sir Launfal," and the beggar's rejection of the piece of gold tossed to him in scorn:

> "Better to me the poor man's crust,
> Better the blessing of the poor
> Though I turn me empty from his door;
> That is no true alms which the hand can hold;
> He gives nothing but worthless gold
> Who gives from a sense of duty."

4. The Church of Christ has a great opportunity before it. Will it see and lay hold upon that opportunity? We have been asking ourselves, Why do not the poor come to church? Now the question is reversed: Will the Church go to the poor? I do not mean in contributions to "organized charities," but in personal visitation. In Christ's picture of the judgment he does not say to the righteous, "I was an hungered, thirsty, a stranger, naked, sick, and in prison, and ye sent a *secretary* unto me," but "*ye* fed and clothed and visited me." Now is the judgment-day of the Church of Christ. And it is not enough for the Church to take care of its own poor. Some unhappy churches have no poor. Every city church ought to fix the geographical limits of a parish, for which it should assume responsibility, and, either alone or in conjunction with some other church or churches, should undertake to visit the entire district, and ascertain where there is distress to be relieved. In this visiting the object should not be to do detective work,—that is, to discover fraud; nor to do inquisitorial work,—that is, to pry into the history of the family,

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rake over its past, learn its history, and sit in judgment on its faults. Neither, on the other hand, should its object be the mere distribution of clothes, food, fuel, and money to any one who asks for it, on the principle of giving the most to those who claim the most. It should be sympathetic, kindly, helpful, cautious. It should have experienced supervision, and supplies should be given out with caution. It is better to sell than to give, and to give a little rather than much, and never to give at all except with personal inquiry or personal knowledge, and as the expression of personal sympathy. But if cautious and experienced visitors cannot be secured, I would encourage incautious and inexperienced ones to undertake the work. Inexperienced love is better than none at all. Between sympathy without wisdom and wisdom without sympathy is a hard choice, and we ought not to be driven to it. But if the choice must be made, the unwise sympathy is better than the unsympathetic wisdom; wisdom will be acquired in the work, while the suspicious and unsympathetic heart will grow more suspicious and more unsympathetic.

If the reader of this article lays it down with any impression that I disesteem organized charity, I hope he will allow this closing paragraph to disabuse him of that misapprehension. The various organized efforts for the relief of distress in the great cities of the United States are among the consummate fruits of Christianity. There are many of us who can in the nature of the case do very little personal work among the poor, who must do most of their work through the agency of others. I am myself one of that number. But even the busiest of us can do a little. What little we do can be done in a spirit of really friendly sympathy, not grudgingly, reluctantly, and from a sense of duty. Even when we work through others, we can know whom we are helping and what we are doing. The nearer we can get to those we befriend, the better both for them and for us. And in our churches we can drop for a little while sitting in judgment on those of our fellow-Christians who doubt whether Moses wrote the Pentateuch, or who hope that there is sunshine in another world for those who have spent all their lives in darkness in this, and unite with them in endeavoring to carry food to the hungry and fuel to the cold, without confounding the needy with the vicious, or unteaching the lessons of sobriety and thrift to one class while we, who pride ourselves on our thrift, are learning the more important lesson of Christian love.

LYMAN ABBOTT.

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A REVIEW OF THE HAWAIIAN CONTROVERSY.

I AM asked to prepare, without bias or direct suggestion, a succinct review of the three days' revolution of January, 1893, at the Hawaiian islands, which resulted in the dethronement of Queen Liliuokalani and her constitutional monarchy, and the establishment of the new Provisional Government. The task is not inviting; for public sentiment among our people has been so wrought up and worked upon of late, for the sake of discrediting this administration or the last, and with a passionate desire of establishing one ultimate policy or another toward that ocean jurisdiction, that facts are easily glossed over or disregarded to support an argument. But I have studied the whole testimony carefully, and, I believe, without strong prejudices, and I now proceed to state the situation according to my own impressions.

I shall assume, in the first place, that the situation of these islands "at the cross roads of the Pacific Ocean," and midway in the track of a valuable commerce, gives them a peculiar attraction to these United States, so far as establishing an influence there is concerned; that recent developments of that commerce have carried thither quite an amount of American invested capital, together with a fair colony of sojourners, more or less constant, from among our own people; that these sojourners—American citizens still, for the most part,—are anxious, intensely anxious, to bring that whole jurisdiction under the Stars and Stripes which constitute the emblem of their beloved Union and ours. But, on the other hand, the great mass of the American people are conservative about new and distant territorial acquisitions, sluggish, not readily aroused; they are conscious of great difficulties attending such an annexation as the present, and desire time and opportunity to compare them with the promised advantages, which they as yet apprehend scarcely better; and, under any circumstances, they do not wish these islands thrown upon them, under a race conquest, like that of Cortes over the Aztecs in Mexico, but must feel well assured that the Hawaiians themselves come

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toward us with open arms and of their own free accord, as well as resident foreigners who undertake to pledge their consent.

I shall assume also that the paramount influence of the United States in these islands may be extended in one of three ways: by treaty, by a protectorate, or by annexation.[1] By treaty, which best respects the autonomy of both contracting countries, we have already secured great advantages, and may stipulate for advantages even greater; for President Grant's treaty of reciprocity in 1876 developed a marvellous interchange of products on our Pacific slope; and with its renewal under President Cleveland's first administration in 1883 we acquired further the exclusive right to perhaps the finest of those island harbors as a naval station for coaling and repairs.[2] A protectorate presents a scheme utterly incompatible with our settled system of fraternal self-government, involving grave political and constitutional objections; and, such a policy once sanctioned, a strong naval force must be maintained, while our flag becomes liable to be launched into costly colonial expeditions—after the fashion of Great Britain and the European powers—into various quarters of the globe, whose sure attendant consequences are international collision and strife. Annexation, which means present or prospective Statehood, offers, with regard to such a territory and population, not contiguous but remote, not homogeneous but heterogeneous to a remarkable degree, political and constitutional objections the gravest of all; and, notwithstanding our innate and earnest desire to diffuse the blessings of freedom which we enjoy over the rest of the globe, one would think that, with Indians not yet reclaimed, negroes emancipated only by the bloodiest and costliest of civil strifes, and, as the latest factor, Chinese disturbing our national peace of mind,—not to speak of the refuse of European nations cast lately upon us so constantly by the Atlantic tides,—this Union had enough of the problem of amalgamating races into one brotherhood to last at least for the rest of this century.

I shall assume, finally, that no fear of British or other foreign interference to seize these islands if we do not, need trouble us. That fear has been the usual goad for driving our people, if possible, into filibustering and oppression toward the weaker nations of this hemisphere, ever since the days of San Jacinto. Our influence at these islands will always be paramount if we do not weaken it by

[1] G. T. Curtis, North American Review, March, 1893. T. M. Cooley, in the Forum, June, 1893.

[2] Minister Thurston's article, North American Review, March, 1893.

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injustice. An Englishman whose means of knowledge ought to be good[1] declares his positive belief that neither Great Britain nor any other nation under the sun would accept the Sandwich Islands as a gift; and it is significant that, when Mr. Blount ordered our flag at Honolulu to be lowered, nothing but a Japanese man-of-war in the harbor could be pointed out as menacing to a neutrality; and on the barest rumor that such a menace had been suggested, the Japanese government, with profound regrets at so unfounded a suspicion, ordered that vessel away.[2] As for the Monroe doctrine, granting its proper extension to this remote part of our hemisphere, that standing rule against European and foreign interference has been as firmly asserted by our present administration in its diplomatic instructions, as under any of its predecessors; and such instructions we shall find enforced.[3] This doctrine, though perverted by some later Presidents, was wholly philanthropic in its original scope, helpful and not menacing to weaker nations of this new world struggling for home rule, as first inspired by Jefferson, formulated with the skilful aid of John Quincy Adams, while Secretary of State, and announced by the high-minded President whose name it bears, upon his executive responsibility.

The Hawaiian question is often debated as though one large island alone were concerned; but the controversy involves in reality a group of some eight inhabited islands in the Northern Pacific Ocean, more familiarly known as the Sandwich Islands. Of these islands Hawaii is the largest in area, and gives its name to the group; but it is not the chief either in population or political importance. That distinction belongs to Oahu, the third or fourth of this group in geographical size, but the most populous of all by reason of its busy port and emporium, Honolulu, where sovereignty has long predominated; and here, and in that interesting city of about 23,000 souls, that latest revolutionary overthrow took place in January, 1893,—too sudden and short for resistance or coöperation elsewhere,—whose success extended the revolutionary jurisdiction presently to the other islands of the group. Hawaiian government is sufficiently modern and progressive to admit of a census taken every six years, which comprehends in its tabulated results both number and nationalities; and

[1] T. H. Davies, guardian of the Princess and heiress expectant of the Hawaiian throne.

[2] Mr. Blount's Reports, April 6 and July 17, 1893.

[3] Secretary Gresham's instructions to Commissioner Blount, March 11, 1893; speech of Minister Willis, etc.

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from the latest census, taken in 1890, it appears that most of the population of Oahu island dwell at Honolulu, while a decided majority of the enumerated inhabitants, out of a total number of nearly 90,000, dwell actually upon the other three principal islands, Hawaii, Maui, and Kauai. Of this whole hybrid and heterogeneous brood the most highly civilized portion, comprising Americans, British, Germans, and Norwegians, number less than 14,000; natives and half-castes amount to 40,600; Chinese, Japanese, and a mongrel species of Portuguese, a rude laboring class for the most part, and most of them not admitted to the franchise, constitute the rest. Of pure Americans there are less than two thousand altogether.[1]

It is a curious circumstance, indicating the nomadic and transitory character of this mingled population, that the males out-number the females in the proportion of about 56 to 31; and the sexual disparity is particularly great as regards the Chinese and Japanese element, the most nomadic of all; yet even this latter importation, which the present Provisional Government and its predecessor have long encouraged, under contracts more particularly for working as coolies the vastly developing sugar plantations, arrives to supply inhabitants hardly less permanent in residence than the Saxon race; and the population and character of these islands is now and must always remain—inclusive of natives, the most permanent of all—overwhelmingly Asiatic and Polynesian.[2] This present condition of the races has been chiefly brought about by the great development of staple productions, and particularly of sugar cultivation, under the fostering influences of President Grant's treaty, to which I have referred: but to take the natives and half-castes, otherwise familiarly styled Kanakas, they are by themselves an interesting and intelligent race, considering the barbarous condition from which missionary efforts long ago reclaimed them. Considerably more than half of them (or seven-tenths in round numbers) can read and write,—a showing with which only England and Germany, perhaps, of European countries, can compete: idol-worship, equally with cannibalism, they have long since cast aside, and they are now clearly Christian in their religious affinities, besides showing in their own modes of life those distinctive Christian traits, not always predominant among their more civilized teachers, of simple faith, meekness, self-sacrificing hospitality, and forgiveness of their enemies by whom they have suffered. Few thieves or beggars are to be found among them. What finally

[1] See the official statistics in Blount's final report. [2] Ibid.

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the Hawaiian is capable of under the highest conditions remains unsolved; but under his present influences he is found rather timid to resist the encroachments of a more powerful race, docile, without strong traditions of his own, frail but well-intentioned in morals. He is disposed to follow his civilizers from without rather than trust to native inspiration; and yet most probably, like most other races of this globe, he is capable of fighting for his rights when at last exasperated and pushed to the wall.[1]

Sandwich Islanders responded quite readily to the religious efforts of our earlier missionaries; and the sons of missionaries, and English-speaking immigrants in general, have reaped many temporal advantages in consequence previous to the last twenty years. In fact white leaders were usually accepted by the island king, in his selections of ministers, nobles, and judges, in preference to those of his own race; and hence the Hawaiian government has gradually merged from barbarism into a sort of parliamentary monarchy, after the European pattern; puerile, possibly, in its imitative fondness for royal pageantry, but nevertheless strikingly liberal in submitting its royal functions and prerogatives to popular and even alien direction. The census of 1890 shows voters registered of all the various nationalities which vote at all,—Chinese and Japanese being still excluded; and as a great concession to sojourners not citizens, under the Constitution of 1887, which the white denizens of Oahu procured by revolution, foreigners who take the oath to support the Hawaiian government are permitted to register with a distinct reservation of allegiance to their own. It is thus that European and American sojourners here have quite generally gained participation in the suffrage, with the object, on their own part, of neutralizing the native vote as much as possible by various devices, while claiming all the same sympathy and protection from one's own distant government.

It is foreigners, chiefly, in such a sense, who have been the chief promoters and organizers of the two latest revolutions; both of which tend decidedly toward taking away the Hawaiian islands from their own fixed inhabitants. And in an alignment of the native full or

[1] "The Hawaiian race," writes Sereno E. Bishop, an ardent annexationist, in 1888, "is one that is well worth saving. With all their sad frailties, they are a noble race of men, physically and morally. They are manly, courageous, enterprising, cordial, generous, unselfish. They are highly receptive of good. They love to look forward and upward, though very facile to temptations to slide backward and downward. In an unusual degree they possess a capacity for fine and ardent enthusiasm for noble ends."

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half caste registered vote against the foreign, in consequence, and with the increasing fear that the whole ignorant Asiatic brood may yet be admitted to the polls, American voters almost despair of stable government, under their own immediate control, unless they can gain annexation to the United States as a sort of white aristocracy. Indeed, these islands, while the present Provisional Government lasts, mean practically and of necessity a State or a cluster of States, staple and sugar-producing, after the pattern of South Carolina or Louisiana in 1860, with, however, a race oligarchy wide awake in other investments for capital, who work Mongolian coolies on their plantations, under a close contract system, instead of African slaves. Hawaiians and natives themselves have no superior class of their own; and all the lands, which were owned originally by a few or by the crown, are gradually, by one means or another, being drawn into the exclusive dominion of white denizens.[1] But the landless natives, still deferring to white influence, retain the semblance of political sovereignty for themselves, and they actually register, by the latest census, 9,700 intelligent though diffident votes, as against a foreign vote of scarcely 3,900.[2]

So startlingly significant are these undisputed facts and figures, that our latest American insurrectionists have no wish whatever, either to encourage experiments of local self-government or to appeal for the sanction of their new establishment to a plebiscite. The government which they displaced was a liberal government enough, under all the circumstances, for white men and foreigners to live under. The legislature, a representative body, passed laws, made and unmade ministers, usually of white blood, who controlled the monarch; the monarch himself not long ago was elected by the legislature, as may occur again, because sovereigns die childless and collateral succession is not very extensively provided for. "The annexationists," reports Mr. Blount accurately, "expect the United States to govern the islands by so abridging the right of suffrage as to place them in control of the whites." In fact not one revolutionist did he find on his visit who admitted or advocated anything to the contrary; and the deep reserve of annexationists who are manufacturing sentiment in this country is equally significant. Minister

[1] Only 4,695 persons owned real estate on the Sandwich Islands by the latest statistics; and over half of the soil had by 1890 passed into European or American ownership. This offers little promise to new settlers in case of annexation.

[2] Blount's final report.

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Thurston suggests that Hawaiians are indifferent to their own institutions and should be indulged accordingly.[1] Ex-Minister Stevens objects to all popular expression on the subject of these new rulers, on the distrustful hypothesis that British influence and the various corrupt island rings, together with Claus Spreckels, would bribe the people to vote unfavorably.[2]

Hawaiian politics, in their history, do not move perhaps in a more dignified plane, nor with greater freedom from scandalous imputations, than those of more favored communities, where parties contend for selfish power, and are left free to asperse, without despotic interference, the motives of their opponents. Upon the death of Lunalilo, known as the last of the Kamehamehas, in 1874, it devolved upon the entire Hawaiian legislature to elect, in default of legitimate succession, a new sovereign. Of the two candidates, Kalakaua and the Queen dowager Emma, the former gained the election through external American influence; but his dissipated and downward course presently produced a revolution in 1887, which secured those new constitutional features so liberal to the white denizens of Honolulu, and so unparalleled in the dealings of fully civilized communities with aliens, which we have already touched upon. The sovereign was shorn quite short of his former prerogatives; including the appointment of a house of nobles, and his absolute veto upon legislation. The new constitution, formally promulgated, July 7, 1887, by King Kalakaua himself, as the former constitution more despotically had been, brought political troubles to a close; though the concessions were doubtless wrung from him most unwillingly. Actual sovereignty passed very considerably by such a charter to the foreign element, so long as they kept in good accord among themselves; but there was native discontent, which native courtesy could scarcely smother, when the King died suddenly on January 20, 1891, while upon a tour to San Francisco, where sagacious Americans on their own soil entertained him right royally. Kalakaua died childless, leaving the reputation, notwithstanding his many low vices, of a tractable and kind-hearted sovereign, and a generous good fellow; and on the 29th of the same January, the day that his remains were brought to Honolulu by a steamer which bore the Hawaiian flag

[1] New York Tribune, Nov. 13, 1893. "The average native Hawaiian," adds Mr. Thurston, "has very little interest in who rules him, so long as he is not interfered with in the calm enjoyment of life, and really has no opinion to express."

[2] Massachusetts lecture; newspapers of Nov. 22, 1893.

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at half-mast to announce a public calamity, his sister and legitimate successor, Liliuokalani, was, in her first maze of bewildering grief and unexpected authority, proclaimed the Queen and successor.[1]

Of Queen Liliuokalani personally, whose brief two years' reign has precipitated such disaster, nothing should be said in censure which does not allow that she is of a race which her white conquerors consider inferior to their own. No such profligate and open debauchery has been charged against her as that of which her late brother and royal predecessor was accused; but she, a married woman at the time of her accession, and more recently a widow, has had that scandal imputed to her which woman holds most in abhorrence, but can least easily put down. Liliuokalani's chastity is defended by her friends and denied by her enemies; she has always been received at her capital with the greatest respect, and greeted in society by the wives and daughters of the leading foreign residents, which is of itself an important circumstance in her favor.[2] But be the truth what it may, the coarse and calumnious epithets with which so many of our own countrymen have lately befouled her in the press, and, worst of all, President Harrison's recent minister, who should have been the last person to forfeit dignity in that respect—and all without an indictment, an investigation, an affidavit, or even a really compromising fact to adduce against her—should cause the blood of every honorable man to curdle with indignation. As for Wilson, her alleged paramour, his rise in her confidence is capable, at all events, of that guiltless explanation to which every accused person should be entitled; for, a half-breed Englishman of good stock and strong physique, brought up in the Sandwich Islands from boyhood, and proving himself quickly superior to the blacksmith's trade which first employed him, he married a native girl whom Liliuokalani had trained in her household like an own child, and attached, besides, the Queen's husband by his congenial companionship in the manly sports; till finally the Queen herself, recalling the royal vicissitudes of past revolutions, selected him as her marshal and palace guard, in which personal capacity he lived necessarily with his own wife in close proximity to the palace. He well vindicated his sovereign's choice by his courage, ability, and conspicuous and constant fidelity to her interests. Indeed, of all the numerous men who figure through Commissioner Blount's searching investigation, Wilson stands out alone,

[1] Historical testimony of Ashford and others; Blount's report.
[2] See testimony of Wundenberg, Chief Justice Judd, and the late Queen.

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chief and organizer of the royal forces, as the man whom revolutionist plotters thoroughly dreaded; he it was who would have nipped conspiracy in the bud after the Russian fashion, who, but for the more prudent and more timorous advisers of the government, would have arrested ringleaders, suppressed secret meetings, dared the revolutionists and even the intervening marines of our United States vessel to fight, and who only surrendered his station house at last on the Queen's peremptory mandate. It was for all this, we may well surmise, and because of his constancy to his sovereign, the woman who relied upon his protection, that annexationists hate him, and pull his reputation to shreds, more than from any pious suspicions that he received her illicit favors.

Queen Liliuokalani's accession has been, however, most unfortunate for the peace of her realm, under the stress of unavoidable race conflicts between natives and white foreigners which this new wealth of commerce and plantation industries has brought to the inhabitants. That stress dates from the reign of Kalakaua before her. Her disposition has been reactionary, and her sympathies strongly with her native people as against the new-comers of these Saxon races whose cool craft has been gradually taking away their simpler sovereignty and her own, and of whose designs, moreover, to annex the whole jurisdiction to the United States she has had no light forebodings. Partisan herself in feelings, by nature and the force of circumstances, stronger in traditionary reverence than the majority of her race, she has hastened the dreaded conflict by her own want of either tact or prudent dissimulation, by her obstinacy, high temper, transparent simplicity of motive, and, within clearly feminine limitations, her fearlessness to assume great responsibilities whose dangers she is incompetent to calculate. Yet, with all these grave faults of character as a ruler, Liliuokalani has been singularly consistent and honest in her general preferences for a policy; she has shown no little forbearance, moreover, when terribly irritated and provoked, where her officers would more wisely have soothed her; she has respected constitutional restraints after her own emphatic manner of construing them; and, after all, she has proved herself not intractable, when treated, as all women like to be, with courteous deference. More than this, still, she yields the point, like most others of her sex, when masculine superiority has forced her to the ultimate barrier.

This sovereign, never yet fully trained and experienced upon her

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throne, though advanced already in years, belongs to a short-lived race; and in case of her death, deposition, or voluntary resignation, her legitimate successor—under the Constitution of 1887—would have been automatically the Princess Kaiulani, a young woman now just about the age of Hawaiian majority, of rare personal charms and intelligence, who, seasonably removed from pernicious court influences a few years ago, was privately educated in England under good guardianship, and has lately been travelling in the United States, charming all who have met her by her social refinement and accomplishments. The good will of these two royal claimants could not be safely ignored in any full settlement of the Hawaiian difficulties; and in fact, the treaty which President Harrison negotiated with the new government proposed to pension Liliuokalani handsomely and pay down to the Princess a gross sum in cash, provided that each would submit to the new order of things and to the authority of the United States. Mr. Blount found last spring at Honolulu, while pressing his investigation, that agents, pretending to have received their credentials from Washington, were trying to negotiate directly with the ex-Queen, so as to induce her to sell out and abdicate; and when their scheme was balked, Hawaiian journals in sympathy with the Provisional Government threatened repeatedly that she would be forthwith arrested and shipped from the islands.[1]

The dethroned queen is not without grievances of her own to relate, such as must have left their indelible impression peculiarly upon one of her imperious temperament. Like her own predecessor, she disliked the Constitution of 1887, which placed ancient prerogatives so largely in the keeping of the migratory white men. Upon her coronation she hesitated to sign it; and, told next by her surrounding advisers that she could not at once legally form a ministry of her own, but must keep the legacy of a dead sovereign's cabinet until some legislature should later dismiss them, she stubbornly objected, and carried her point at length, as she ought to have done. Her earlier ministers of state, who were evidently expected to keep her down, would administer affairs together, without passing her the courtesy of a consultation; and later, as the struggle progressed, with the Wilcox Reform cabinet, for whose head she cherished a high personal consideration, the course taken, as she claims, was on all occasions to decide measures apart, and simply present acts and documents for her signature, leaving her no ready resource but to

[1] See Blount correspondence, April 26 and May 24, 1893.

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acquiesce. "I found," she complains, "that I was simply a nonentity, a figurehead." And Minister Stevens on one occasion, so she relates, seated himself in her presence in a manner highly disrespectful and offensive, and then absurdly undertook to browbeat her government into making reparation for an article, reflecting upon his official behavior toward some shipwrecked sailors, which had appeared casually in a Honolulu newspaper.[1]

It seems impossible that this high-strung sovereign, sensitive to every slight and impertinence, could have got on smoothly with the diverse elements about her. Her own people, to whom were allied those native-born of foreign parents, are passionately fond of her; but American sojourners, yearning for the Stars and Stripes, became rapidly alienated from her confidence, until, between annexationists and wealthy merchants generally who desired reform and a stable government on the one hand, and those on the other who incline rather to home rule and the Polynesian standard of morals, administration had degenerated by 1892, with the legislature in session, into the constant making and turning out of cabinets,—a business in which the legislature exerted its leverage at the behest of one side or the other according as factious combinations might vary, while bribery and corruption became the constant charge. In this sharp and incessant struggle for political supremacy, the party reformers, when united with another faction known as Liberals, were strong enough to vote out all opposing ministers until the Wilcox or Reform Cabinet was brought in; but, offending the Liberals after this, they met their humiliation when the Wilcox Cabinet was voted out by a new legislative combination of men on the 13th of January, 1893, and the reins of power, which otherwise might most likely have been held for eighteen months or more through the prorogation of the legislature, passed, just before final adjournment, into the hands of another ministry, weak perhaps in its morals, and hardly representative of any party. Among the various rings of lobby speculators, corrupt and corrupting, as such speculators are apt to be under any government, while hanging about the legislature, were those which sought—as had been sought long before—a lottery and an opium license act; measures both offensive to civilized people like our own, and yet in the Sandwich Islands strongly backed by Asiatic as well as local sentiment, and commanding naturally some honest favor at all events, from such a government and

[1] See Liliuokalani's statement, attached to Blount's report.

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legislature, because of subsidies and revenue which would accrue to the public treasury. To take such measures at their worst, in any system of modern politics the only efficacious remedy lies in constitutional appeal to the polls, liberal discussion, and healthier inspiration of public sentiment; for with bad legislation the people of our own proud States are sufficiently familiar, and, in the chance for popular appeal in change of legislators and an administration, citizens rest content. Taxation in the Hawaiian Islands has never been oppressive, averaging scarcely one per cent.

While the acerbity of politics increased, and civilization itself seemed to go backward; while party reformers complained of the Queen's vicious appointments, of her meddlesome interference in affairs, and of the increasing instability of official tenure, which under old King Lunalilo was almost permanent by comparison with these two later successors—natives on the other side lamenting that foreigners of another race, citizens still owing their allegiance elsewhere, had come to their Pacific coast poor, to amass rich fortunes, to absorb the crown lands to themselves, and at length to claim paramount ascendency in the public administration, regardless of earlier prerogatives, of earlier fundamental law, and, as they thought, to the impoverishment and subjection of their own primitive race,—American sojourners began almost spontaneously to look forward with hope and desire to a closer amalgamation with the United States. Other friends of civilization and stability, having no strong interest to exert apart, English, German, and Norwegian, came to sympathize with them; most foreigners, in fact, upon these islands, who controlled or owned invested capital,—all the great sugar-producers, in fine, except Claus Spreckels. But while the greater part of this influential minority were content to let events shape their own slow course, an ardent band of annexation enthusiasts and malcontents pushed forward insurrectionary schemes in secret, under the secret favor, as they often represented, of President Harrison and his Secretary of State. To stir up among American men at home the sluggish spirit of distant acquisition was of course the still formidable task; but this they attempted to do in various articles which attracted little immediate notice in our country, but which are now recalled with a retrospective interest; published, as they were, at various times during the last two years in the "New York Tribune," in the "Kennebec Journal," which Minister Stevens of Maine had edited, and in various presses on the Pacific coast, one of which, shortly before the final session of our last Congress, predicted

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under bold head-lines that a new national topic was shortly to be sprung in the annexation of Hawaii. Ex-Premier Thurston, a native-born islander, who appears to have visited the United States in 1891–92, to make secret stipulations with the Harrison administration,[1] was the moving spirit of all this agitation; and his lately published plea for annexation, made up with much financial and historical research, is stated by himself to have been written, except for its two final pages, before the revolution took place.[2] To such insurrectionary counsels, Minister Stevens, a friend and ardent admirer of Secretary Blaine, gave more, probably, than a diplomatic countenance; for his close personal sympathy and acquaintance with the bold spirits of the cause is revealed more and more clearly in each new counter-statement that he has made since Blount's report was published. In speeches made by him at Honolulu, on the 4th of July, 1891, and later, on Memorial Day, 1892, contempt of the sovereign and government to which he came accredited was but feebly veiled. Indeed, it is the common charge of royal adherents who felt the atmosphere of his hostility, that our legation was the headquarters where Americans met commonly to discuss by what practical means these islands might most quickly be brought under the jurisdiction of the United States; and though no secret league of annexationists may really have been organized, suspicions were so soon aroused among the natives themselves and in governing circles, that a Hawaiian league was formed to protect the autonomy of the kingdom.[3]

We reach now that memorable and somewhat unexpected crisis of Saturday, the 14th of January, 1893, when events to which the Queen's own indiscretion largely contributed gave American sojourners upon the Sandwich Islands the revolutionary opportunity for which some, no doubt, had hopefully planned, but which to the great majority of reformers must have meant simply, in its inception, union for pure local self-government by regular and constitutional methods. Revolutions among this gentle and not illiberal people of the distant seas meant sensation; without doubt, oratory; displays, perhaps, of military force, but hardly bloodshed. In all the previous

[1] See Liliuokalani's statement.

[2] North American Review, March, 1893.

[3] Blount's statements, *passim*. President Cleveland's special message of December 18, 1893, supplies letters from the files of the State Department, written by Minister Stevens in 1892, which disclose plans of the revolutionists entertained thus early, and his own decided sympathy with them.

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Hawaiian revolutions since 1875, so Mr. Blount informs us, the total casualties had amounted to seven killed and seven wounded; and by precisely the same arithmetical figures were these former revolutions more sanguinary than this latest impending one. The legislature on that 14th of January was to close its work; and as legislatures were decreed biennial under the existing Constitution, no opportunity to vote out the Cabinet which had just come into power, by supersedure of the Wilcox ministry the day before, could possibly occur before May, 1894, unless the Queen convoked a special session. Government might now prove for a long time sufficiently stable, but it was not such stability as reformers and the foreign element wished for: they were bitterly disappointed over the ill luck which had rotated their favorite ministers out of office on the 13th; and, to add to their mortified disgust, the new ministers, fulfilling pledges probably given to that queer combination of a legislative majority which had just helped them into power, laid the opium and lottery bills before the Queen and advised her to approve. Not caring to interpose her own veto at this time, and yet, indifferent personally to these bills, as she has since testified, or, rather, disliking them, like most of her woman friends, she affixed her signature.[1] The legislature was prorogued with ceremonial formality on Saturday noon; most of the opposition members, however, being conspicuously absent. Minister Stevens, who had just returned from a brief trip among the islands, joined the diplomatic corps at the government house just about adjournment, to ascertain what bills had been royally approved; and when informed that the lottery bill was one of them, he struck his cane on the ground and exclaimed with angry emphasis that this was an insult to the United States.

The Queen's new ministry, now apparently launched upon a long term of service, was not really disreputable, but of that easy shiftless character, rather, that sails with the current. Samuel Parker was minister of foreign affairs; William H. Cornwell, of finance; John F. Colburn, of the Interior; A. P. Peterson, attorney-general: politicians all of them, and men of parts, though loosely accused of having gained their power by corruption and bribery. Each had race and political affiliations of his own with the white party, and was by no means inclined to break altogether with the reformers.[2] But

[1] Statement of Liliuokalani and others.

[2] Parker, the premier, was mostly of native Hawaiian stock, with some Anglo-Saxon infusion. The others, we presume, were English or American.

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the Queen herself, having yielded her signature thus readily to their approved measures, for which she cared so little, had now their united signatures to ask in return to a document on which her own heart was set. Urged by various petitioners of her own loved people from time to time, and inclined to please them, but in practical defiance of the whole foreign element she nominally ruled, and with monstrous self-reliance, she now produced a new Constitution, fully drawn up, which she wished to proclaim at once as the supreme law of the land in place of the existing Constitution. This was not so revolutionary as one may suppose. That charter of 1887, as I may here remark, drafted by Americans and full of our own familiar expressions of individual rights, is by no means the document of a half-idolatrous society. The Queen's new document proposed to follow it, except for those essential provisions which had reduced native influence and her own so greatly; and here she meant reaction to the condition just prior to 1887. As the royal veto was now but a qualified one, she proposed to make it absolute. As the appointment of the nobles had now been vested in electors, with a property qualification favoring the non-naturalized race, she now proposed restoring such appointments to the crown. As the two houses of legislation had been artfully balanced by an equality of numbers, so as to give the nobles almost the preponderance for voting out any ministry, she now proposed to double the number of representatives in the other chamber. She proposed taking away the life-tenure of the judiciary,—the department, of all others, which had proved the steady balance-wheel; and finally as the most sweeping change of all, that property qualifications should be reduced, and that only subjects should vote.[1]

Such changes of themselves must have seemed appalling and revolutionary; but the right of the monarch to proclaim a new Constitution followed strict precedents of this jurisdiction. Neither the revolutionary Constitution of 1887, nor that under which the Hawaiian islands had been previously governed for twenty-three years, had sought a plebiscite, or any other popular or even legislative sanction. Liliuokalani evidently regarded herself bound not to proclaim the change unless her ministers would join her.[2] Changes so reac-

[1] See draft of the proposed new Constitution, together with that of 1887: Blount documents.

[2] See Liliuokalani's statement, with suitable citation of constitutional provisions. The Constitution of 1887 is vague enough concerning the power of amendment; but if, as the Queen has pertinently maintained on her part, members are bribed and the legislature is corrupt, nothing good can there be depended on.

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tionary and involving such deprivation of safeguards on behalf of the rich and intelligent element of foreign sojourners were, under any method of promulgation, beyond the reach of all argument. The intention of so reactionary a change, we must deal leniently with, as the fatuous folly of a woman and a headstrong sovereign, pitiably blind to the consequences.

None the less, "it was really a magnificent spectacle," as Chief-Justice Judd has observed, who stood unwillingly by the throne, with other dignitaries, upon a summons which he dreaded and disapproved.[1] He, like any generous man of superior civilization, was touched with compassion for this brave woman, standing though he felt her to be on the very edge of ruin; and from his recollections of the occasion, with those of the chief royal personage herself, artistic hints might be gathered of a scene which our modern world associates with poetry and the tragic stage more than with real public life,—the Queen, in her sublimated state of mind, struggling with suppressed emotions for the dramatic *coup* which she had secretly prepared; her sidelong warning to Marshal Wilson, "You will have to be brave to-day," as she entered the blue room of the palace after having prorogued the legislature elsewhere; the large procession of natives, visible from the balcony, who came marching with banners, dressed in their best attire, with black coats and beaver hats, and whose chief delegates entered; her eloquent opening to those about her, audience-room in the name of the thousands of subjects, who, she said, had demanded of her government a new Constitution; her pleading suggestions to one and another of the chief men of state about her to second her expressions; and, upon the final refusal of her ministers to sign, her announcement to the crowd from the royal balcony, with heartfelt sorrow and yet a queenly self-control, that she loved her people and would continue to love them, but that she could not give them to-day the Constitution they wished for, but would do so at some future time. All the high officers of government, even the marshal who has been so greatly scandalized, were dead against her in this business. The wary ministers who had parried well her appeal for their names, after evading in the forenoon the preliminary conference which she had eagerly invited, undertook to control her without delay. Two of their number, Colburn and Peterson, were the first to communicate the situation at once to the leading reformers of the city, assuring them that

[1] Chief-Justice Judd's statement in the Blount testimony.

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they gave the Queen's plot no countenance; they, in return, were encouraged by these men, and by all the great mass of influential residents and business men, to stand firm and prevail. They did so, and, if their testimony can be trusted as it ought to be, she yielded to them in private by the same Saturday night that full abandonment of her purpose which, to allay general excitement, was publicly announced over their signatures and her own by forenoon of the ensuing Monday.[1]

Of the revolutionary incidents which now pass in rapid succession, the extensive narrative of Mr. Blount's report, together with Secretary Gresham's briefer synopsis, have been widely given through the press to our American public.[1] But as if investigators so tried, so able, and so honorable as these, might not be trusted upon their own sifting of the evidence, I have gone searchingly through the great mass of accompanying testimony for my own satisfaction, with all of the individual counter-statements which have appeared since its publication as well as our leading press comments lying by me for comparison; and my only surprise is that a candid and unprejudiced mind can reach, on the essential facts, any deduction materially different from their own. For this testimony is not *ex parte* in reality, as so many have taken for granted, but Commissioner Blount pursued his delicate mission with rare discretion, and with an evident determination to reach the bottom of the truth; he avoided, for the independence of his search, all insidious attentions which were offered him on either side; and it appears painfully clear that from the moment the chief participants in the Queen's dethronement and the present Provisional Government discovered that his purpose was not to make up a vindication for them, their witnesses avoided him, did not volunteer information, became unwilling to testify, while our legation archives, more deficient in written letters and memoranda than they ought to have been, proved difficult of access. Those chiefly compromised by Blount's report have, moreover, differed with it in their various explanations, not so much on facts as in the deduction from facts. Captain Wiltse, who commanded our naval forces in January, 1893, is, indeed, dead; but the case can be made up without needlessly assailing his memory; for the real narrative of revolutionary events is to be chiefly constructed from matters of writ-

[1] Blount's report, statements of Samuel Parker, etc.

[2] Finally we have the President's forcible presentation of facts in his special message of December 18, 1893.

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ten proof, of admissions, of common knowledge at Honolulu, and from the signed statements of reputable witnesses before the Commissioner, whom no one has undertaken to discredit.[1] Most of the residue of this printed bulk may be used or not, to corroborate or throw side lights. And it ought to be constantly kept in view by all fair-minded men that, the revolutionists having first sent their commissioners to Washington to influence our Administration's action and to forestall public opinion by their own representations and arguments, the prime object of Blount's mission was to test such *ex parte* evidence by local inquiries, giving necessarily the deposed government and its officials a chance to tell their own story. Minister Stevens, in his latest printed explanation,[2] embraces most leading opponents of the revolution whom the commissioner met at Honolulu, in something like a wholesale bill of attainder, from the late Queen and her several ministers down to the assistant manager of the hotel where Mr. Blount boarded; but reflection should convince us that even immoral persons may be credible to some extent, and especially ministers of state who are backed by official documents. It was the Psalmist who declared that "all men are liars," but he confessed that he said it in his haste. I observe that a few of our fellow-citizens who are acquainted at Honolulu have wondered that some men of business and capital there, whose honor is well esteemed in this country, were not called upon to furnish affidavits; and so they might have been, had time been long, and the chief purpose of our administration to discuss local politics

[1] The published testimony and correspondence from the State Department, which accompany Mr. Blount's well-known final report, occupies not less than 413 printed folio pages, added to the previous 37 (a considerable portion being in fine print), and consists of correspondence, sworn and unsworn statements, interviews and miscellaneous writings, inclusive of sundry public statistics. Among the recorded witnesses not to be accused of partiality to the Queen's side, nor of obscure reputation, are E. C. Macfarlane, Volney V. Ashford, C. Bolte, S. M. Damon, Lieutenant Draper, Chief Justice Judd, Robert W. Wilcox, Admiral Skerrett, F. Wundenberg, H. A. Widemann, Henry Waterhouse, W. O. Smith, and J. H. Soper. The two latter, who were prominent in the revolutionary events of January, appear to have proved decidedly reluctant and even slippery witnesses. Important letters and documents are brought to light in those pages, certain significant ones from L. A. Thurston and Minister Stevens among the number. The deposed government and its friends find of course an extended place for testimony, as they ought to have had, but not to the exclusion of proper counter statements from opposite and from indifferent points of view. Many documents of historical interest are finally to be found here, such as the full Constitution of 1887 and the draft of that which Queen Liliuokalani proposed promulgating in its place.

[2] November 29, 1893; and given to the press.

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and policies, as to which political parties have never agreed, and never will. A fair and free expression of the Hawaiian voters, under the Australian ballot, such as has not yet been taken, would solve the question of present popular preference better than tons of printed speculation; and the main purpose of Blount's mission, properly considered, was not to explore the moralities of other nations that have not undertaken to explore ours, but to find out whether in actual truth the present government *de facto*, never authoritatively sanctioned, was *bona fide* established by local revolution, or, on the other hand, by fraud or at least a misuse of colorable protection under the American flag, which neither the law of nations nor a self-respecting public neutrality can warrant.

Thus, then, was acquired by American sojourners, after less than a three days' conjoint rebellion, and without the loss of a single life or the firing of a gun, what Mr. Stevens, most loath to lose it, has lately described not inaptly as a "territorial and maritime prize" [1] for the American people. And if his own official dispatch which announced the new situation veered rather wide of the truth, the statement of the five Hawaiian commissioners, who were next hurried off to Washington to negotiate an alliance treaty, must be pronounced a positive falsehood.[2] The Harrison Administration had been plainly deceived in this whole *de facto* business, as the statements of two at least of its Cabinet tacitly, if not positively admit; [3] and the American people must confess with shame that the national honor endures a new stain, a new reproach of national greed, in the wrong so recently done to the gentle Hawaiian people, to their constituted ministers, and only less positively to Queen Liliuokalani in person. That the insurgents were prematurely recognized, to say the least, and put in use of that formidable weapon to accomplish what they must needs have accomplished somehow to become a government *de*

[1] Statement, November 29, 1893.

[2] See the paragraph of this letter to Secretary Foster, February 11, 1893, quoted fully in Mr. Blount's report, and signed by Mr. Thurston, the present minister of the provisional government at Washington, among the rest, and by Mr. Wilder, its present consul-general at San Francisco: "No public recognition was accorded the provisional government by the American Minister, until they were in possession of the government buildings, the archives and the treasury, *supported by several hundred armed men, and after the abdication of the Queen and the surrender to the provisional government of her forces.*"

[3] Statements of ex-Secretaries Foster and Tracy, New York Herald, November 22, 1893.

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facto at all, is now so evident, that their defenders have fallen back together upon the plea—utterly inadmissible and unwarranted by the facts—that the Queen's government had practically ended on the Saturday previous, and by an act on her own part which never went beyond a mental intention before she yielded to her constitutional advisers and to the public expression, and relinquished the ill-conceived purpose. Our national Executive has now the clear right and duty under all the circumstances, unless constrained by Congress, to decide what our national vindication requires before the world, and to enforce that vindication besides. Either of two grounds may be taken for such action: one ground, which Secretary Gresham has already put forward, and international comity asks, in case of unwarranted interference by one nation in the affairs of another, that the injured sovereignty shall be placed as nearly as possible *in statu quo;* and the other ground, which is justified by the peculiar facts of the present case, that two rival organizations in a conflict for domestic sovereignty referred mutually the question of rightful status and supremacy, rather than have bloodshed, to this foreign American republic, already involved to some extent in their dispute, agreeing at the same time substantially and mutually to abide by its award and final adjustment. In proof of this latter postulate are, the conditional character of the Queen's abdication as accepted by the Provisional contestants: and furthermore the creation of their own Provisional Government, not as one full and permanent, but as a mere temporary establishment having no distinct sanction from the Hawaiian people beyond such conditional abdication, a government "to exist until terms of union with the United States of America have been negotiated and agreed upon,"—words which do not naturally import continuous existence if we now decline such union, but rather the reverse. For if this revolutionary establishment had counted upon the cupidity of our American people, that of constitutional monarchy hoped for a generous sense of justice. Such a compact of reference and arbitration was entered into when all contracting parties knew that Mr. Cleveland had just been elected President, and that the case could not fairly be heard until his induction into office. His Administration has since investigated the facts with all reasonable diligence and honesty of purpose; and, having investigated and decided, enforcement of the decision comes next in order, so far as international justice is concerned, aside from mere prudential considerations.

JAMES SCHOULER.

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THE NICARAGUA CANAL—OURS OR ENGLAND'S?

THE American people must answer a momentous question before the turning of another year. They must decide whether American influence, by peaceful means, shall dominate the Isthmus of Nicaragua. The responsibility cannot be shirked. Forty years of indecision, with fitful but unavailing outbursts of enthusiasm for the building of a Nicaraguan ship-canal, has at last provoked conditions which are critical. The necessities of our own growth caused us to raise the issue, and now it has turned upon us and demands a prompt and final settlement. The answer involves to-day, as it did forty-four years ago, a choice between the alternatives of American or British control of the highway to the Pacific Ocean.

But new features have intruded upon the problem. We no longer fear invasion and theft of territory on our western coast. The westward march of empire has ceased. The empire is ours; occupied from sea to sea. We have now to develop it; to establish arteries of communication having the least resistance to all those currents which build up a strong and evenly-balanced national life. If we promote not this end there will follow unequal development, warring among the members, and commercial and political decadence.

The Nicaragua Canal is the line of least resistance between the east and the west, for that huge volume of crude and bulky products of the farm and mine upon whose cheap and easy transportation depends the prosperity of every portion of the commonwealth. The maintenance of this route forever free from the possibility of obstruction by a foreign power, or from discriminative regulations inimical to our commerce, is as vital a necessity as the right to untrammelled navigation of the Great Lake system of the north, upon which to-day one-fourth of the total freight movement of the United States is carried on. Certainly no one who has seriously studied the situation doubts that the opening of the Nicaragua Canal under American auspices would inaugurate a new era of commercial expansion in the United States, but we have treated this project as if its consummation depended upon our individual desires, neglectful of the demands

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of commerce other than our own, whose easiest route would lie through such a waterway, which has grown to a volume equal to that served by the Suez Canal to-day. The world has waited for us, recognizing our superior interest in the undertaking. We have been put to the test, and the result so far has been failure! Four times have concessions been placed in our hands and forfeited by inaction, and now a fifth concession awaits action. Three times has Nicaragua offered us special privileges by treaty if our government would build the canal, and—beyond doubt wisely—we have declined.

Very noticeable and significant has been England's persistent hostility toward the American enterprise, while she has repeatedly approved officially of the Nicaraguan route, and at various times in the last century and a half has endeavored to make herself mistress of the territory through which the canal must pass. Since the day when Cromwell initiated the policy of aggrandizement in the Caribbean, England has not ceased to strengthen her position in Central America and the adjacent islands. At length she sought to validate her claim to certain advantages she had already acquired, by that crafty piece of diplomacy, the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850. So cleverly, in her opinion, had our interference with her plans been eliminated by this document, that she undertook, before the ink was fairly dry upon it, to enlarge the boundaries of her Mosquitian protectorate, and to demand that Nicaragua should come to terms with her concerning the construction of the canal, whose eastern extremity would then have lain within the protectorate. Also, in the same official note, she took occasion to inform Nicaragua that the canal could not be built by the United States, "since London is the only place where sufficient capital and spirit of enterprise can be found for carrying out a project of such magnitude." Unless we soon redeem ourselves by rallying to this task, we shall be obliged to confess with shame that our British cousins took our measure only too correctly.

After ten years of wrangling, Great Britain acceded to our demands and relinquished the Mosquito protectorate by the Treaty of Managua, whereby Nicaragua became the protector of the Mosquito Coast, and acquired sovereignty over certain territory including that through which flows the Rio San Juan del Norte, the only feasible route for the future canal. But Nicaraguan rights exist under a precarious tenure, for the infraction of any part of this treaty will serve as a sufficient pretext for Great Britain to revive all her former claims as

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protector, which would enable her to dictate terms regarding the canal. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty clearly recognizes the right of either the United States or Great Britain to hold or acquire protectorates in Central America. Therefore, if the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty is still operative, it would justify Great Britain in a revival of this protectorate; if it is void, the embarrassment of any concessions made to our wishes in the diplomatic controversies over this treaty would be removed. Our State Department, in its official correspondence, has affirmed, as a fact, that the treaty "has fallen, because of its infraction." In any case we would have no recourse but an appeal to arbitration or to arms to restrain British aggression.

It is evident that the security of this canal, if held by Americans, demands that the whole force of the government shall be pledged in no doubtful manner to its preservation as a neutral highway, so that foreign interference would be not merely tampering with American interests, but to all intents and purposes with the American government itself. This certainty that the American nation would stand as a unit, regardless of party, to defend the broad and liberal requirements of the present concessions, would constitute the best guarantee that the world could have of the perpetual neutrality of the canal, and of equality of privileges in its use.

How different the influence would be if the control of this waterway should pass to an aggressive naval power like England, may be surmised from a consideration of the strategic positions which she already holds; with her ten important possessions in the Windward Islands, with Trinidad, Jamaica, Belize, and the Bahama Islands, watching every entrance to the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea. Some of these positions have little strategic value, mainly for want of harbors; but the importance of Trinidad, Barbados, Jamaica, and Belize can scarcely be overestimated, controlling the Caribbean as they do from end to end. It is noticeable how zealous Great Britain has been, even to the limit of most flagrant violations of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, to strengthen Belize by the usurpation of territory from Guatemala, in order that a colony might be developed which could serve as a convenient base of supplies. All this careful preparation for war, centring around a region where Great Britain's commercial interests are at present far less important than in other portions of Latin America, shows clearly that the object is to protect prospective interests, and there can be no doubt that this protection would be vigorous. As

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Captain Mahan has said: "To any foreign state, control at the Central American Isthmus means naval control, naval predominance, to which tenure of the land is at best but a convenient incident."

It would be superfluous to point out the danger of foreign control of the canal were it not for a widespread belief, fostered by that portion of the daily press which is tinctured by alien sentiments, that it is a matter of indifference who builds and owns it; that it would even be a brilliant event if foreign enterprise should carry it to completion, whereby we should acquire all its benefits without the burden of its cost. This idea takes no account of the inevitable military advantage which would accrue to the foreign owner, whereby our navy at critical junctures would be forced back to the route around South America, while our enemy with a single fleet could attack both our Atlantic and Pacific squadrons. It is often said that there will never be another war between the United States and England, but it needs no imagination to perceive how readily England, if controlling the canal, could by the very menace of this added power force us into injurious concessions in the settlement of future disputes.

It is certainly possible that, if the canal be built by foreigners, its status will be determined by special treaty with Nicaragua; and since that country was willing to concede the right of differential tolls favoring American shipping, the presumption is warrantable that exclusive privileges would be accorded any nation which should at last fulfil her dream of wealth and glory by improving the natural advantages of her topography and geographical position. Thus all our commerce between the Atlantic coast and foreign countries in the Pacific would be placed under a perpetual disadvantage as compared with the nation owning the canal. We must bear in mind, moreover, that if the ownership of this waterway goes abroad, whether the military possibilities of the situation are realized or not, our whole commerce, coastwise and foreign, which would use the canal, would for all time be subject to a tax for the benefit of the foreign capital invested therein, causing a further drain of gold from our vaults, which at the lowest calculation would within a single generation aggregate a sum sufficient to have constructed the canal. In other words, if we do not choose now to build the canal and reap the consequent advantages of the investment, we will ultimately not only pay the whole cost of its construction to the foreign owners, but we will pay it over and over again.

It is most unfortunate that public opinion in this country has

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been divided upon the question of our proper attitude as a nation toward this enterprise. The result has been a weak and vacillating policy, which, together with the fruitless tampering of the government, has aggravated the timidity of capital, and brought the Nicaragua Canal Construction Company to the verge of ruin. Thus has been precipitated the present crisis which threatens to turn the balance against us. The rights and obligations of the old Construction Company are now in process of transference to a new company, which sets out with the purpose of completing the canal, but with this intention is involved the determination to save at all hazards the $6,000,000 or more already expended. For five years a strenuous appeal has been made to the American people for means to carry on the work, and it has failed. Now the appeal must be made abroad. It is perforce a final effort. The concessions will expire by their own limitations in seven years and a half, unless a far greater amount of capital shall be subsequently expended. This renders the situation precarious, to which must be added the disadvantage of the enterprise for foreign capital arising from the circumstance that the Maritime Canal Company of Nicaragua, which owns the concessions, and to which the canal will belong when built, must always, according to its charter, be under the control of American citizens. With England determinedly hostile, and with Germany and France either not sufficiently interested in the undertaking, or not able to assume the financial responsibility of its execution, the chances of failure obviously are very great. In such event there would probably result either a total collapse of the project as an American enterprise, a lease of the rights and privileges of the Maritime Company, or an abandonment by that company of its United States charter, followed by a reorganization under the laws of some foreign state.

The main interest of the American people is to save the canal, and this is easily within their power by a guarantee of bonds of the Maritime Canal Company. This does not involve a support of the two companies now connected with the enterprise, but practically the extinction of one and the absorption of the other. The obligation to provide for reimbursement of the capital hitherto invested is imperative, but an expansion of benefits beyond this would neither be necessary nor admissible. The relations of the Maritime Canal Company, moreover, would be totally changed. It has frequently been objected that a transfer of the franchise to the United States by mortgage foreclosure would work a forfeiture of the con-

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cessions. This is perfectly true, but there is no need of repeating in any subsequent bill those manifest defects in the plan for securing the government which were incorporated in the bill introduced in the Senate in 1891. Statements of the tonnage which would use the Nicaragua Canal, based upon reliable statistics, have been frequently published, which show that the income from tolls, after deducting operating expenses, would pay the principal and interest on bonds to the amount of $150,000,000 in less than thirty years. The United States would not enjoy the opportunity of foreclosure if these bonds should mature in forty years from the date of issue, and it is evident to any one that they would constitute the most desirable and most easily convertible securities in America.

Of all the plans which have been proposed, this seems at once the most feasible, and the most certain to ensure a permanently peaceful and universally beneficial administration of the canal. Since American investors hold aloof from the enterprise while controlled by a private corporation, this is the only means remaining whereby it may be saved to us without inviting serious diplomatic difficulties. If we do not promptly act, before the Construction Company has entangled itself abroad, we will soon find a trans-Atlantic rival firmly intrenched in the Nicaraguan Isthmus. It is only natural to expect that that rival would be the power whose aggressive policy has given her nearly every point of strategic value in the Caribbean. Adroitly has this chain of military power been thrown around the Isthmus. If now Great Britain gains the canal itself, not only will British influence dominate Central America, but the whole of South America also.

These dangers of foreign ownership of the Nicaragua Canal may seem remote, but the long and studied preparation of a giant betokens swift and energetic action when the proper moment comes. If we lose this waterway it means loss of prestige as a nation, loss of financial strength, narrowing of our commercial opportunities, and an ever-deepening sea of diplomatic troubles. If we rise to the emergency and make it our own, it means a free expansion of our domestic commerce from ocean to ocean, a well-balanced political development destructive of dangerous tendencies to sectionalism, a broader field for investment of capital at home and abroad, larger prosperity for every manufacturer, tradesman, and wage-earner in the republic, and security from entanglements with foreign powers. To build the canal and own it means growth; not to build and own it means contraction.

COURTENAY DE KALB.

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THE WILSON TARIFF FOR A DEFICIT ONLY.

DESPITE the many instances of favoritism in the Wilson tariff bill, it is a pleasure to give credence to the statement of Mr. Wilson that "its authors are unflinching believers in the simple truth that all taxes exacted from the taxpayers should be for public purposes alone." No doubt he and his associates believe that they are infringing the Constitution by preserving any measure of protection; and, if this is so, of course they plead guilty to perjury. The excuse which he offers is the difficulty of making the change all at once; in other words, he pleads "the obduracy of fixed habit," as though that plea were not made in every police court every day, and rebuked by the court as an aggravation and not as an extenuation of the offence.

The bill wholly departs from the free-trade principle, for which it was claimed that the people voted in 1892; but this we will leave Mr. Wilson to settle with his friends. And yet it is such a travesty of protection that it would be a farce if it were not a tragedy. There is not a friend of protection in the country, extreme or moderate (though there is no such distinction), who considers it a good bill, and there are millions, many of whom voted the Democratic ticket, who are now crying out in language like that of Macbeth—

> "And be these juggling fiends no more believed,
> That palter with us in a double sense;
> That keep the word of promise to our ear,
> And break it to our hope."

Next to protection,—and some think before protection,—the one thing that business requires is a settled policy. This the Wilson bill does not give. On the contrary it offers the fossil device of a sliding scale, as though results were not promptly discounted in the commercial world; and it is accompanied by the promise that it will lead to free trade. The prospect of the bill having unsettled everything, the only promise of the bill itself is to keep everything unsettled.

We could live under free trade. It would simply mean a lower

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scale. But we were prospering under protection. There was and is no condition of the Treasury or of business to demand the proposed change. The British tariff and the McKinley tariff, though perfection cannot be claimed for either, are the best models of opposite systems. The Wilson bill follows neither, except in form. It is not even by profession a tariff for revenue only, and its chief sponsor admits that it will reduce the revenue sixty millions a year, and that, too, when the Secretary of the Treasury recommends a loan of two hundred millions to avert bankruptcy, and when the party in power, which has ninety-two majority in the House, is so divided that a quorum cannot be secured to consider this bill. It may be doubted if any leading measure of party policy ever before encountered such a rebuff on the day of its birth and in the house of its friends.

Having failed to report a free-trade bill, or a bill to yield sufficient revenue, Mr. Wilson contends that his bill will do—what? Shades of Bright and Cobden, hear him! It will protect the final processes of manufacture! He still believes in the doctrine of *laissez faire*, but practises and defends paternalism, and instead of protecting all production impartially, which is the only just or expedient rule, he exemplifies the worst atrocities of class legislation.

For he proposes, and actually proclaims it as a reform, to strip the farmers and miners, unless they happen to grow rice or sugar in the South, of every shred of protection, and to confer the supposed benefit of free raw materials upon the robber barons who manufacture. To be sure, he says this is done so that there may be but one tax,—a tax upon the finished product, and not upon the processes and materials of industry. Whose industry, and whose finished product, pray? Farming is an industry, and wool is one of its finished products. But wool is made free while some of the materials necessary to its production are the finished products of manufactures that are left dutiable; such as wire by which the sheep are restrained, guns and powder by which they are protected from bears and wolves, metallic labels by which they are numbered, and the shears by which they are clipped. By what logic is the finished product made free and the contributory articles left taxed? The same inconsistency has been pointed out in the case of cotton ties,—a finished product of steel, made in the North and used in the South,—while the pigs or blooms from which it is made, and which are largely produced in the South, are left protected. These are but samples of the favoritism which runs through the bill.

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If crude materials had to be imported, there is every reason why they should come in free. This is the protective policy, and Mr. Wilson has reported a protective bill. But since most of them are produced here, and the country has resources for an adequate supply; since capital and labor are employed in their production and to an extent surpassing that of any later process of manipulation; since they are all subjected to foreign competition; and since, according to Mr. Wilson's own excuse for protecting the manufactures, they are conformed to protection,—why throw them out of adjustment?—why disturb the equilibrium?

Mr. Wilson's reasons are that the duties on the materials add to the cost of the product, which thus becomes too great at home and prevents selling abroad. This is an error of fact, founded upon the economic error that the duty is a tax upon the consumer, whether a foreign or a domestic article is used. That the duty is not added to the price unless we are dependent upon foreign supply is proved by the fact that in many cases the price is lower than the duty. I have a partial list of such articles that is too long for insertion here. The first reason for free crude materials, therefore, fails. The second —to gain access to foreign markets—is best answered by a pardonable paraphrase: What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own market? The home market is immeasurably superior to all the markets of the world; and if all interests are adequately protected, its growth is greater every year than any foothold that could be gained in other markets in three years, with every advantage from free materials. Our case is different from that of Great Britain. The British foreign trade is twice as large as their home trade, while our home trade is twenty times as large as our foreign trade. If the United Kingdom would be doubly foolish, as Mr. Gladstone tersely puts it, to barter the greater for the less, would not the United States be twenty times foolish?

The claim that ability to sell abroad proves ability to hold the home market is pure theory. The fact is that few of our manufactures are sold abroad for profit, and most that are are favored by reciprocal treaties which the Wilson bill proposes to kill. England sells abroad, but there is great complaint among her manufacturers to-day that the Germans, the Belgians, and the French are fast taking away their home market.

Most foreign markets are glutted. To sell there, we must not only meet the lowest prices, but must labor long to overcome preju-

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dice, habit, and patriotism. This calls for not only free materials but cheap labor—as cheap as ten cents a day, for example, if we were to try to sell cotton cloth in India; for the Indian mills use the same kind of machinery that we do, speed it as high, run it more hours, and pay less than one-tenth our wages for the same result. Even British cottons have lost that market.

But if we could compete with the English in England, the Germans in Germany, and the French in France, where would be the advantage to either country in exchanging similar products? Abraham Lincoln well stated the only result of such a transaction as being the loss of the cost of transportation. As the world grows older, and countries become more complete within themselves, the foreign commerce that is beneficial must be chiefly in non-competing products. An exchange of American flour for Cuban sugar profits both parties; but an exchange of Massachusetts cottons for Lancashire cottons is absurd. Novelties, of course are exceptional, but nothing remains novel long.

The next main feature of the Wilson bill is the substitution of ad valorem for specific duties. Mr. Wilson considers it worth a political revolution. Nay, it is a political revolution, and a reversal of the aphorism that revolutions never go backward, as we shall see further on. But here let us examine another point. Mr. Wilson enjoys a monopoly, so far as I know, of the discovery that specific duties are preferred by domestic producers because they "conceal many of the enormities" of the present law. When a good and honest reason exists, why look for a bad and dishonest reason? Specific duties are preferred because they protect, and not because they conceal. Every producer is willing that everybody should know the percentage of his protection, because he can prove that it does not increase the cost above a fair relation to other values.

In this view, Mr. Wilson's illustration by two samples of woollen-pile stuffs, worn "by working-girls abroad, and which many here would be glad to get," proves unfortunate for his case, though presumably it was the best he had. He figures that the McKinley duties of 49½ cents a pound and 60 per cent ad valorem are equivalent to 303 per cent on one sample and 253 on the other, and that they increase the cost of one from $31\frac{79}{100}$ cents a yard to $1.28 and of the other from $44\frac{88}{100}$ cents to $1.58. He says these rates are prohibitory and it is proposed to reduce them so that the cost of the goods will be raised by the duties only 44 and 64 cents respectively. The prices will then be $75\frac{79}{100}$ cents and 1.08\frac{88}{100}$ a yard.

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It is suspected that he has fallen a victim to some importer who wishes to impose a lot of unfashionable goods upon the people of this country. Conceding the correctness of his figures, I will show that they have no effect. Like himself, I have two samples of such goods before me as I write. The fabric is known as plush velours. Both grades are 50 inches wide and weigh about 23 and 25 ounces to the yard, respectively. Contrary to his supposition, the goods are made in this country, in at least four States, and competition has brought down the price to 47 and 61 cents a yard respectively, which is about 29 and 47 cents less than he and his foreign friend propose to furnish them for. I have the assurance of one of the largest makers of these goods that he will be glad to deliver 200,000 yards of them in Boston at these prices, and guarantee them to be equal in quality to any foreign goods of equal width and weight. Thus the poor girl whom Mr. Wilson so piteously describes as earning only 50 cents a day will not have to work eight days to buy this cloth for a garment, but can get it for less than two days' pay of the free-trade wages which he names. But in fact the American working-girl does not desire these goods; they are worn abroad from necessity, but she scorns them and so does the American man. A Massachusetts mill made up some 10,000 overcoats from them, but they fell flat upon the market. American wage-earners could afford something more to their taste.

Here this illustration, so disastrous to Mr. Wilson's contention, might be dropped, but there is another aspect of the case to be considered. The goods were not made here until they were protected by a duty. The manufacture now affords no profit; its only benefit is to keep the mill running and the hands employed when orders for other goods are slack. But if the duty is reduced as proposed, foreign makers who have cheaper plants, capital, and labor, can take the market, and when they have driven the Americans out of the business they will raise the price, as they always do, and then the poor working-girl, out of employment or reduced to free-trade wages, and therefore compelled to wear cheap and unfashionable goods, will have an object-lesson of non-protective duties. This case is but a sample of many others which might be cited in almost every line of manufacture.

Mr. Wilson concedes that ad valorem duties open a door to undervaluations, but thinks they are not so gross or hurtful as overvaluations. This is amusing. No exporter or importer will over-

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value his goods, certainly, and it has already been shown that the domestic manufacturer cannot, on account of sharp competition. While it is true that the compromise tariff of 1833 and the slaveholders' tariff of 1846 adopted ad valorem duties, and while it may be, as Mr. Wilson asserts, that Henry Clay once declared his preference for them, these are the only authorities which Mr. Wilson can cite. To the contrary, I cite Henry Clay as saying more than fifty years ago, "Let me fix the value of the foreign merchandise, and I do not care what your duty is"; and I also cite the present tariffs of every enlightened country in the world: even the free-trade tariff of Great Britain makes nearly all duties specific.

In the light of recent investigations in this country it is amazing that a statesman should favor a discarded system that defeats both revenue and protection and has been condemned by all the great Secretaries of the Treasury, from Alexander Hamilton to Daniel Manning, several of them being of Mr. Wilson's own party. As this subject is so important, let us briefly cite some of these opinions:

Hamilton said in 1795, after stating that experience had led other nations to prefer specific duties: "It is needless to repeat that this will contribute as much to the interest of the fair trader as to that of the revenue." Gallatin, in 1801, favored specifics, "in order to guard as far as possible against goods being underrated." In 1816 Dallas recommended duties by weight and measure, "in order to guard against evasions and frauds." In 1817 and 1819 Secretary Crawford presented lists of more than 124 articles which he advised be transferred to the class of specifics.

In 1849, after three years under the Walker tariff, Secretary Meredith said:

> "Experience has, I think, demonstrated that, looking exclusively to the revenue, a specific duty is more easily assessed, more favorable to commerce, more equal, and less exposed to frauds than any other system."

Secretary Bristow, in 1876, advised the substitution of more specifics for ad valorems, in order to reduce the labor of experts, to make the fixing of duties "more simple, certain, and safe," to lessen the opportunities for collusive undervaluation, and to diminish the custom-house expenses.

In 1878 Secretary Sherman deemed it "important that upon some articles"—and he named kid gloves—"the ad valorem duties now assessed should be converted into specific duties," and he said

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that "as a rule specific duties are to be preferred to either ad valorem or compound rates."

Mr. Cleveland's first Secretary of the Treasury, Daniel Manning, in 1885 made the following clear statement of how the Wilson system would work:

"In a system of ad valorem rates there are two critical points: One is dutiable value, and the other is rate of duty. If the law were so administered by the Treasury Department that on the importation of one importer 50 per cent was levied, and on the importation of another importer 40 per cent, and on that of another importer 30 per cent, there would be a general outcry. So there would be if an importer at New York was required to pay only 30 per cent, and if of another at Buffalo was demanded 40 per cent, and of another at Chicago was required 50 per cent. But none the less illegal and intolerable result would follow if the dutiable value on one importation were fixed at $100, on another, by the same vessel, at $80, and on another, by the same vessel, at $60, the merchandise in all of the three being similar. If importers can illegally control dutiable values, they can control the amount of duties paid on the merchandise, although the ad valorem rate may be fixed and uniform for everybody and every port in the country."

In 1877 Mr. Cleveland's second Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Fairchild, a tariff reformer not second to Mr. Wilson, said:

"The high ad valorem tariff of the last quarter of a century has been the fruitful cause of devices to gain improper advantage at the custom-house. It is therefore desirable that in revising and reducing rates of duty they should be made specific instead of ad valorem, so far as the nature of the merchandise will admit. Theoretically considered, ad valorem are preferable to specific duties; but in practice, under such rates as we have had and must continue to have for years to come, the former are the too-easy source of deception and inequality at the custom-house."

Thus we see that the Wilson bill has not a leg left to stand upon. If it passes, it will be a monument to political obstinacy. It is already strewing the field with dying industries and dying men. Millions are remonstrating against it, and outside of two or three reform clubs not a man has petitioned for it. If the vote of 1892 was an instruction to pass a reform bill, these unexampled demonstrations, chiefly by Democrats, ought to be interpreted as an instruction to defeat this unexpected bill.

ALBERT CLARKE.

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ENGLISH LITERATURE OF THE VICTORIAN AGE.

THAT which in England is conveniently described as the Victorian Age of literature has a character of its own, at once brilliant, diverse, and complex. It is an age peculiarly difficult to label in a phrase; but its copious and versatile gifts will make it memorable in the history of modern civilization. The Victorian Age, it is true, has no Shakespeare or Milton, no Bacon or Hume, no Fielding or Scott—no supreme master in poetry, philosophy, or romance, whose work is incorporated with the thought of the world, who is destined to form epochs and to endure for centuries. Its genius is more scientific than literary, more historical than dramatic, greater in discovery than in abstract thought.

In lyric poetry and in romance our age has names second only to the greatest; its researches into nature and history are at least equal to those of any previous epoch; and, if it has not many great philosophers, it has developed the latest, most arduous, most important of all the sciences. This is the Age of Sociology: its central achievement has been the revelation of social laws. This social aspect of thought colors the poetry, the romance, the literature, the art, and the philosophy of the Victorian Age. Literature has been the gainer thereby in originality and in force. It has been the loser in symmetry, in dignity, in grace.

The Victorian Age is a convenient term in English literature to describe the period from 1837 to 1894: not that we assign any sacramental efficacy to a reign, or assume that the Queen has given any special impulse to the writers of her time. Neither reigns, nor years, nor centuries, nor any arbitrary measure of time in the gradual evolution of thought can be exactly applied, or have any formative influence. A period of so many years, having some well-known name by which it can be labelled, is a mere artifice of classification. And of course an Englishman will not venture to include in his survey the American writers, or to bring them within his national era. The date, 1837, is an arbitrary point, and a purely English point. Yet it is curious how different a color may be seen in the main current of

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the English literature produced before and after that year. In the year of the Queen's accession to the throne, the great writers of the early part of this century were either dead or silent. Scott, Byron, Shelley, Keats, Coleridge, Lamb, Sheridan, Hazlitt, Mackintosh, Crabbe, and Cobbett, were gone. There were still living in 1837, Wordsworth, Southey, Campbell, Moore, Jeffrey, Sidney Smith, De Quincey, Miss Edgeworth, Miss Mitford, Leigh Hunt, Brougham, Samuel Rogers:—living, it is true, but they had all produced their important work at some earlier date. Carlyle, Dickens, Thackeray, Macaulay, Tennyson, Browning, had begun to write, but were not generally known. The principal English authors who belong equally to the Georgian and to the Victorian Age are Landor, Bulwer, Disraeli, Hallam, and Milman, and they are not quite in the very first rank in either age. It is a significant fact that the reign of the Queen has produced, with trifling exceptions, the whole work of Tennyson, the Brownings, Thackeray, Dickens, the Brontës, George Eliot, Kingsley, Trollope, Spencer, Mill, Darwin, Ruskin, Grote, Macaulay, Freeman, Froude, Lecky, Milman, Green, Maine, Matthew Arnold, Symonds, Rossetti, Swinburne, Morris, John Morley, to say nothing of younger men who are still in their prime and promise.

Widely as these differ among themselves, they have characters which differentiate them from all men of the eighteenth century, and also from the men of the era of Goethe and Scott. Can we imagine "Sartor Resartus" being published in the age of Johnson, or "In Memoriam" in that of Byron? How different a land is the Italy which Ruskin sees from the Italy that Rogers knew! What a new world is that of the Brontës and George Eliot beside that which was painted by Miss Edgeworth and Miss Austen! In what things would Southey and John Morley agree, except about books and pure English? Place Burke "On the Sublime and Beautiful" beside Ruskin's "Modern Painters"; compare the "Stones of Venice" with Eustace's "Classical Tour"; compare Carlyle's "French Revolution" with Gibbon's "Decline and Fall"; compare the "Book of Snobs" with Addison's "Spectator"; contrast the "Ring and the Book" with Gray's "Elegy" or Cowper's "Task." What wholly different types, ideas, aims! The age of Pope and Addison, of Johnson and Gibbon, clung to symmetry, "the grand air," the "best models"; it cared much more for books than for social reforms, and in the world of letters a classical manner was valued far more than originality of ideas. And when we come to a later age, what an irrepressible and stormy imag-

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ination do we find! Byron, Shelley, Scott, Coleridge, Campbell, Southey, Landor, revelled in romance and color, in battle and phantasmagoria, in tragedy, mystery, and legend. They boiled over with excitement, and their visions were full of fight. The roar and fire of the great revolutionary struggle filled men's brains with fierce and strange dreams.

Our Victorian age is as far from the Virgilian and Ciceronian style of the age of Gray and Johnson, as it is from the resounding torrent which was poured forth by Byron and Scott. The social earnestness of our time colors our literature, and almost distorts our literature; while, on the other hand, our practical and scientific genius scorns the melodramatic imagery with which our grandfathers were delighted. Gibbon would have smiled a cruel epigram, if he had been expected to thrust a Latter-Day Pamphlet on the social question into one of his chapters on the Fall of Rome. But Carlyle's "French Revolution" is as much political rhapsody and invective as it is history. Dickens made a series of novels serve as onslaughts on various social abuses; and George Eliot's heart is ever with Darwin, Spencer, and Comte, as much as it is with Miss Austen. Ruskin would sacrifice all the pictures in the world, if society would transform itself into a Brotherhood of St. George. Tennyson has tried to put the dilemmas of theological controversy into lyric poetry; and Psychology is now to be studied, not in metaphysical ethics, but in popular novels. The aim of the modern historian is to compile a "Times" newspaper of events which happened three or four, eight or ten centuries ago. The aim of the modern philosopher is to tabulate mountains of research, and to prune away with agnostic *non possumus* the ancient canons of hypothesis and imagination.

Our literature to-day has many characteristics: but its central note is the dominant influence of Sociology—enthusiasm for social truths as an instrument of social reform. It is scientific, subjective, introspective, historical, archæological:—full of vitality, versatility, and diligence:—intensely personal, defiant of all law, of standards, of convention:—laborious, exact, but often indifferent to grace, symmetry, or color:—it is learned, critical, cultured:—with all its ambition and its fine feeling, it is unsympathetic to the highest forms of the imagination, and quite alien to the drama of action.

It would be a difficult problem in social dynamics to fix anything like a true date for this change in the tone of literature, and to trace it back to its real social causes. The historian of English literature

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will perhaps take the death of Walter Scott, in 1832, as a typical date. By a curious coincidence, Goethe died in the same year. Two years later Coleridge and Lamb died. Within a few years more most of those who belonged to the era of Byron, Shelley, Scott, and Sheridan were departed or had sung their last effective note. The exceptions were Wordsworth and his immediate Lakist followers, Landor, and Bulwer, of whom the two latter continued to produce. The death of Scott happened in the year of the Reform Act of 1832; and here we reach a political and social cause of the great change. The reformed democratic Parliament of 1832 was itself the reaction from the Revolution of 1789, and it heralded the social and legislative revolution of the last sixty years. It was the era when the railway system was founded, and the vast industrial development which went with it. The last sixty years have witnessed a profound material revolution in English life; and the reaction on our literature has been deep and wide.

The most obvious and superficial change in literature is the extreme diversity of its form. There is no standard now, no conventional type, no good "model." It is an age of "Go-as-you-please," and of "*tous les genres sont bons, surtout le genre ennuyeux.*" In almost any age of English literature, or indeed of any other literature, an experienced critic can detect the tone of the epoch at once in prose or verse. There is in them an unmistakable *Zeit-Geist* in phraseology and form. The Elizabethan drama, essay, or philosophy could not be mistaken for the drama, essay, or philosophy of the Restoration; the heroic couplet reigned from Dryden to Byron; Ciceronian diction reigned from Addison to Burke; and then the Quarterlies, with Southey, Lamb, Scott, De Quincey, Coleridge, Sidney Smith, and Leigh Hunt, introduced a simpler, easier tone of the well-bred *causeur*, as free from classical mannerism as it was free from subtle mechanism or epigrammatic brilliance. Down to about the death of Scott and Coleridge, almost any page of English prose or verse could be certainly attributed to its proper generation by the mark of its style alone.

The Victorian literature presents a dozen styles, every man speaking out what is in him, in the phrases he likes best. Our *Zeit-Geist* flashes all across the heavens at once. Let us place a page from "Sartor Resartus" beside a page from Macaulay's "History of England," or either beside a page from Arnold's "Literature and Dogma" or one from the "Stones of Venice." Here are four typi-

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cal styles in prose, each of which has been much admired and imitated; yet they differ as widely as Shelley differs from Ovid, or Tennyson from Pope. Again, for verse, contrast "Paracelsus" with "The Princess"—poems written about the same time by friends and colleagues. Compare a poem of William Morris with one by Lewis Morris. Compare Swinburne's "Songs and Sonnets" with Matthew Arnold's "Obermann"; Rudyard Kipling's "Ballads" with "The Light of Asia." Have they any common standard of form, any type of metre? The purists doubt as to the style of Carlyle as a "model," but no one denies that the "French Revolution" and "Hero-Worship" in passages display a mastery over language as splendid as anything in our prose literature. Exactly the same might be said also of "Esmond," and again of "Silas Marner," and certainly of the "Seven Lamps of Architecture." Yet all of these differ as widely as one style can differ from another. "Fifine at the Fair," and "The Angel in the House," have each fervent admirers. No! there is no recognized "model" either in verse or in prose.

In truth, we have now both in prose and in verse strongly contrasted types, each of which commands admiration and following. Both in prose and verse we have one type which has carried subtle finish and a purism studied almost to the point of "preciousness," alongside of another type which crowds its effects without regard to tone and harmony, and by its side a third type which trots along breathless in its shirt-sleeves. Tennyson's "In Memoriam" has that exquisite polish of workmanship which we find in such poets as Virgil, Racine, and Milton—that perfection of phrase which we cannot conceive the poet capable of improving by any labor. Put aside for the moment any question about the ideas, inspiration, or power of the poem as a whole, and consider that, in all those hundreds of stanzas, there is hardly one line that is either careless, prosaic, or harsh, not a single false note, nothing commonplace, nothing overcolored, but uniform harmony of phrase. This perfection of phrasing is not always to be found even in the greatest poets, for Æschylus and Dante at times strike a fierce discord, and Shakespeare, Calderon, and Goethe sometimes pass into rank extravaganza. But this scholarly and measured speech has impressed itself on the poetry of our time—insomuch, that the Tennysonian cycle of minor poets has a higher standard of grace, precision, and subtlety of phrase than the second rank of any modern literature:—a standard which puts to shame the rugosities of strong men like Dryden, Burns, and Byron.

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There is plenty of mannerism in this school of our minor poetry, but no one can call it either slovenly or harsh.

The friend, contemporary, almost the rival of Tennyson, one whom some think endowed by nature with even stronger genius, on the other hand, struck notes of discord harsher, louder, and more frequent than any poet since Elizabethan times. Whatever we hold about the insight and imagination of Browning, no one can doubt that he often chose to be uncouth, crabbed, grotesque, and even clownish, when the humor was on him. There are high precedents for genius choosing its own instrument and making its own music. But, whatever were Browning's latent powers of melody, his method when he chose to play upon the gong, or the ancient instrument of marrow-bone and cleavers, was the exact antithesis of Tennyson's; and he set on edge the teeth of those who love the exquisite cadences of "In Memoriam" and "Maud." Browning has left deep influence, if not a school. The younger Lytton, George Meredith, Buchanan, here and there Swinburne and William Morris, seem to break loose from the graceful harmony which the Tennysonians affect, and to plunge headlong into the obscure, the uncouth, the ghastly, and the lurid. No one denies originality and power in many of these pieces: but they are flat blasphemy against the pellucid melody of the Tennysonian idyll. Our poetry seems to be under two contrary spells: it is enthralled at one time by the ravishing symmetry of Mozart; at another time it yearns for the crashing discords that thunder along the march of the "Valkyrie" through the air.

As in poetry, so in prose. We find in our best prose of to-day an extraordinary mastery over pure, nervous, imaginative language: and all this, alongside here of a riotous extravagance, and there, of a crude and garrulous commonplace. Thackeray's best chapters—say in "Vanity Fair," "Esmond," the "Humorists," contain an almost perfect prose style—a style as nervous as that of Swift, as easy as that of Goldsmith, as graceful as that of Addison, as rich as that of Gibbon or Burke. No English romances have been clothed in a language so chaste and scholarly—not even Fielding's. Certainly not the Waverley series; for Scott, as we know, rehearsed his glowing chronicles of the past with the somewhat conventional verbosity of the *improvisatore* who recites but will not pause to write. George Eliot relates her story with an art even more cultivated than that of Thackeray—though, doubtless, with an over-elaborated self-consciousness, and perceptible suggestions of the laboratory of the stu-

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dent. Trollope tells his artless tales in perfectly pure, natural, and most articulate prose, the language of a man of the world telling a good story well. And a dozen living novelists are masters of a style of extreme ease and grace.

Side by side with this chastened English prose, we have men of genius who have fallen into evil habits. Bulwer, who knew better, would quite revel in a stagey bombast; Dickens, with his pathos and his humor, was capable of sinking into a theatrical mannerism and cockney vulgarities of wretched taste; Disraeli, with all his wit and *savoir faire*, has printed some rank fustian, and much slip-slop gossip; and George Meredith at times can be as jerky and mysterious as a prose Browning. Charlotte Brontë and Kingsley could both descend to blue fire and demoniac incoherences. Macaulay is brilliant and emphatic, but we weary at last of his everlasting *staccato* on the trumpet; and even the magnificent symphonies of Ruskin at his best will end sometimes in a sort of *coda* of fantasias which suggest lime-lights and colored lenses. Carlyle, if not the greatest prose master of our age, by virtue of his original genius and mass of stroke, is the literary dictator of Victorian prose. And, though we all know how wantonly he often misused his mighty gift, though no one now would venture to imitate him even at a distance, and though Matthew Arnold was ever taking up his parable—"Flee Carlylese as the very Devil!"—we are all sliding into Carlylese unconsciously from time to time, and even "Culture" itself fell into the trap in the very act of warning others.

Side by side with such chastened literary art as that of Thackeray and George Eliot, Matthew Arnold and John Morley, Lecky and Froude, side by side with a Carlylese tendency to extravagance, slang, and caricature, we find another vein in English prose—the flat, ungainly, nerveless style of mere scientific research. What lumps of raw fact are flung at our heads! What interminable gritty collops of learning have we not to munch! Through what tangles of uninteresting phenomena are we not dragged in the name of Research, Truth, and the higher Philosophy! Mr. Mill and Mr. Spencer, Mr. Bain and Mr. Sidgwick, have taught our age very much; but no one of them was ever seen to smile; and it is not easy to recall in their voluminous works a single irradiating image or one monumental phrase.

There are eminent historians to-day who disdain the luminous style of Hume and Robertson, and yet deride the color and fire of

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Gibbon. Grote poured forth the precious contents of his portentous note-books with as little care for rhythm and as little sense of proportion as a German professor. Freeman and Gardiner have evidently trained themselves in the same school of elaborate learning, till they would appear to count the graceful English of Froude, Lecky, and Green as hardly becoming the dignity of history. It would seem as if the charge which some of our historians are most anxious to avoid is the charge of being "readable," and of keeping to themselves any fact that they know.

The men who are rather pleased than pained to hear themselves called by the barbarous term of "scientists" seem to think that it matters nothing how ill-digested be their book, or how commonplace be their language. They are accustomed to lecture to students in the laboratory in their shirt-sleeves with their hands in their pockets; and they believe that immortality may be achieved if they can pile up enough facts and manufacture an adequate number of monographs. And they do this, in the teeth of excellent examples to the contrary. Huxley and Tyndall have given their brethren in science fine examples of a pure, vigorous, and well-knit style. Yet, how many of them are still quite content to go rumbling along with an interminable rigmarole of dry "memoirs." Our ponderous biographies of third-rate people tend to become mere bags of letters and waste-paper baskets. And all this with such consummate models before us, and so very high a standard of general cultivation. We have had in this age men who write an English as pure and powerful as any in the whole range of our literature; we have tens of thousands of men and women who write a perfectly correct and intelligent prose. And yet out of a million books, we find so very few which even aim at being works of art in the sense that "Tom Jones" is a work of art, and the "Decline and Fall" is a work of art.

It is, no doubt, this preponderance of the practical, scientific, and social energies which has checked in our Victorian age the highest imaginative and dramatic genius. With all its achievements in lyric and psychologic poetry, it has hardly attempted to scale the empyrean of song. In the seventy-five years that have passed since Shelley conceived his "Prometheus," as he sat gazing over the sombre ruins of the Campagna, no one has ever ventured into that seventh heaven of invention. Since the "School for Scandal" (1777) no English drama has been produced which has anything like the same hold on the stage. For more than sixty years the English stage has not

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known one consummate actor. Though men of real genius have in these sixty years labored at the higher drama, they have hardly achieved even such measure of success as fell to Byron and Shelley with "Manfred" and the "Cenci." With all its lyric and psychologic power, with all its energy and its learning, the Victorian age has not quite equalled the age of Goethe. It is as if its scientific spirit checked the supreme imagination: as if its social earnestness produced a distaste for merely dramatic passion.

One of the most striking facts about our modern literature is the preponderance of the "subjective" over the "objective." The interest in external events, as the subject of imaginative work, quite pales before the interest in analysis of mental and moral impulse. Wordsworth, Coleridge, Jane Austen, have completely dominated our age, and have displaced the epic and legendary themes of Scott, Byron, Campbell, and Southey. "The Two Voices," "In Memoriam," "The Ring and the Book," "Silas Marner," "Vanity Fair," "Bleak House," dissect brain and heart, but do not tell a thrilling history. The crisis of modern romance goes on in the conscience, not in the outside world. Hence the enormous multiplication of the psychologic novel, a form of art which the eighteenth century would have viewed with wonder and perplexity. The curious part of this is the almost entire disappearance of the historical romance, in spite of the immense extension of historical study and archæological revival. We know far more about the past, both within and without, than did our fathers; and we are always seeking to realize to ourselves the habits, ideas, aspect, the very clothes and furniture of ages of old, which we study with sympathetic zeal and in the minutest detail. Yet the historical romance has almost disappeared. "Harold" and "Esmond" are both more than forty years old, "Romola" more than thirty years old. They are none of them quite unqualified successes; and no later historical romance has approached these three in power and interest. Why is it, that, in an age pre-eminently historical, in an age so redundant of novels, the historical novel has disappeared? Partly, no doubt, our romancers shun comparison with the mighty Wizard of the North; partly, the analytic genius of our time so greatly exceeds its synthetic genius; and mainly, the range of our historical learning inclines us to restore the past by exact scholarship and not by fiction without authority. George Eliot was so anxious to have her local color accurate that she ended by becoming somewhat fatiguing. Some day, no doubt, the genius of romance will

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return to this inexhaustible field with enthusiasm equal to Scott's, with a knowledge far more accurate than his, and a spirit quite purged from political and social bias.

From the death of Scott in 1832 until to-day are 62 years; and if we divide this period into equal parts at the year 1863 (it was the year of Thackeray's death), we shall be struck with the fact that the purely literary product of the first period of 31 years (1832–1863) is superior to the purely literary product of the second period of 31 years (1863–1894). The former period gave us all that was best of Tennyson, the Brownings, Carlyle, Thackeray, Dickens, Bulwer, the Brontës, Mrs. Gaskell, Trollope, George Eliot, Kingsley, Disraeli, Dr. Arnold, Thirlwall, Grote, Hallam, Milman, Macaulay, Mill, Froude, Layard, Kinglake, Ruskin. The second period gave us in the main, Darwin, Spencer, Huxley, G. H. Lewes, Maine, Leslie Stephen, John Morley, Matthew Arnold, Lecky, Freeman, Stubbs, Bryce, Green, Gardiner, Symonds, Rossetti, Morris, Swinburne. Poetry, romance, the critical, imaginative, and pictorial power, dominate the former period: philosophy, science, politics, history fill the latter period.

The era since the death of Scott is essentially a scientific age, a sociologic age; and this is peculiarly visible in the second half of this era of sixty-two years. About the middle of the period we see how the scientific and sociologic interest begins to overshadow, if not to oust, the literary, poetic, and romantic interest. Darwin's "Origin of Species" was published in 1859; and its effect on thought became marked within the next few years. In 1862, Herbert Spencer commenced to issue his great encyclopædic work, "Synthetic Philosophy," still, we trust, to be completed after more than thirty years of devoted toil. Darwin's later books appeared about the same period, as did a large body of scientific works in popular form by Huxley, Tyndall, Wallace, Lewes, Lubbock, Tylor, and Clifford. It is only needful here to refer to such scientific works as directly reacted on general literature. About the same time the later speculations of Comte began to attract public attention in England, and the "Positive Polity" was translated in 1875. Between the years 1860–1875, there grew up in England an absorbing interest in Social Philosophy, and a conviction that the idea of invariable law offered a solution of the progress of society. Evolution as an idea was in the air, and it was applied to Man as much as to Nature. It is no part of our present purpose to trace its growth from the scientific

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aspect. It is enough to note how it acted and reacted on general literature.

Poetry began to hover round the problem of Evolution. It wrapped it in mystery, denounced it with fine indignation, and took it for the text of some rather prosaic homilies. Criticism fell into the prevailing theory: so did history, and even romance. Philosophy and Science are not the best foster-mothers of Poetry and Romance. Philosophy and Science grew more solemn than ever; and Poetry and Romance lost something of their wilder fancy and their light heart. Literature grew less spontaneous, more correct, more learned, and it may be more absorbed in its practical purpose of modifying social life.

The old notion of literature being a business apart from affairs, of men of letters being an order, of an absorption in books being ample work for a life—all this has passed away. At least twenty members of the present and late Governments have been copious writers; Mr. Gladstone and at least three or four of his colleagues are quite in the front rank of living authors—nay, several of them began their career as literary men. It would be difficult to name an important writer of the Victorian age who has not at times flung himself with ardor into the great social, political, or religious battles of his time. Thackeray, Trollope, Green, Symonds, are possible exceptions—examples of bookmen who passed their lives with books, and who never wrote to promote "a cause." But all the rest have entered on the "burning questions" of their age, and most of them with the main part of their force. As a consequence "learning," as it was understood by Casaubon, Scaliger, Bentley, Johnson, and Gibbon, as it was understood by Littré, Döllinger, and Mommsen, may be said to have disappeared in England. Cardinal Newman, Mark Pattison, Lord Acton, are said to be very learned, but it was a kind of learning which kept very much to itself. For good or for evil, our literature is now absorbed in the urgent social problem, and is become but an instrument in the vast field of Sociology—the science of Society.

This predominance of Sociology, the restless rapidity of modern life, to the omnipresence of material activity, fully account for the special character of modern literature. Literature is no longer "bookish"—but practical, social, propagandist. It is full of life—but it is a dispersive, analytic, erratic form of vitality. It has a most fastidious taste in form—but it often flings the critical spirit

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aside in its passion for doing, in its ardor to convince and to inspire. It is industrious, full of learning and research—but it regards its learning as an instrument of influence, not as an end of thought. It can work up a poem or an essay, as carefully as Mieris or Breughel polished a cabinet picture—and it can "tear a passion to tatters," or tumble its note-books into a volume all in a heap. It has no "standard," no "model," no "best writer"—and yet it has a curious faculty for reviving every known form and imitating any style. It is intensely historical, but so accurately historical that it is afraid to throw the least color of imagination around its history. It has consummate poetic feeling, and copious poetic gifts—but it has now no single poet of the first rank. It has infinite romantic resources, and an army of skilful novelists—and yet it has no single writer living to be named beside the great romancers of the nineteenth century.

FREDERIC HARRISON.

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A CALENDAR OF GREAT AMERICANS.

BEFORE a calendar of great Americans can be made out, a valid canon of Americanism must first be established. Not every great man born and bred in America was a great "American." Some of the notable men born among us were simply great Englishmen; others had in all the habits of their thought and life the strong flavor of a peculiar region, and were great New Englanders or great Southerners; others, masters in the fields of science or of pure thought, showed nothing either distinctively national or characteristically provincial, and were simply great men; while a few displayed odd cross-strains of blood or breeding. The great Englishmen bred in America, like Hamilton and Madison; the great provincials, like John Adams and Calhoun; the authors of such thought as might have been native to any clime, like Asa Gray and Emerson; and the men of mixed breed, like Jefferson and Benton,—must be excluded from our present list. We must pick out men who have created or exemplified a distinctively American standard and type of greatness.

To make such a selection is not to create an artificial standard of greatness, or to claim that greatness is in any case hallowed or exalted merely because it is American. It is simply to recognize a peculiar stamp of character, a special make-up of mind and faculties, as the specific product of our national life, not displacing or eclipsing talents of a different kind, but supplementing them, and so adding to the world's variety. There is an American type of man, and those who have exhibited this type with a certain unmistakable distinction and perfection have been great "Americans." It has required the utmost variety of character and energy to establish a great nation, with a polity at once free and firm, upon this continent, and no sound type of manliness could have been dispensed with in the effort. We could no more have done without our great Englishmen, to keep the past steadily in mind and make every change conservative of principle, than we could have done without the men whose whole impulse was forward, whose whole genius was for origination, natural masters of the art of subduing a wilderness.

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Certainly one of the greatest figures in our history is the figure of Alexander Hamilton. American historians, though compelled always to admire him, often in spite of themselves, have been inclined, like the mass of men in his own day, to look at him askance. They hint, when they do not plainly say, that he was not "American." He rejected, if he did not despise, democratic principles; advocated a government as strong, almost, as a monarchy; and defended the government which was actually set up, like the skilled advocate he was, only because it was the strongest that could be had under the circumstances. He believed in authority, and he had no faith in the aggregate wisdom of masses of men. He had, it is true, that deep and passionate love of liberty, and that steadfast purpose in the maintenance of it, that mark the best Englishmen everywhere; but his ideas of government stuck fast in the old-world polities, and his statesmanship was of Europe rather than of America. And yet the genius and the steadfast spirit of this man were absolutely indispensable to us. No one less masterful, no one less resolute than he to drill the minority, if necessary, to have their way against the majority, could have done the great work of organization by which he established the national credit, and with the national credit the national government itself. A pliant, popular, optimistic man would have failed utterly in the task. A great radical mind in his place would have brought disaster upon us: only a great conservative genius could have succeeded. It is safe to say that, without men of Hamilton's cast of mind, building the past into the future with a deep passion for order and old wisdom, our national life would have miscarried at the very first. This tried English talent for conservation gave to our fibre at the very outset the stiffness of maturity.

James Madison, too, we may be said to have inherited. His invaluable gifts of counsel were of the sort so happily imparted to us with our English blood at the first planting of the States which formed the Union. A grave and prudent man, and yet brave withal when new counsel was to be taken, he stands at the beginning of our national history, even in his young manhood, as he faced and led the constitutional convention, a type of the slow and thoughtful English genius for affairs. He held old and tested convictions of the uses of liberty; he was competently read in the history of government; processes of revolution were in his thought no more than processes of adaptation: exigencies were to be met by modification, not by experiment. His reasonable spirit runs through all the proceedings of

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the great convention that gave us the Constitution, and that noble instrument seems the product of character like his. For all it is so American in its content, it is in its method a thoroughly English production, so full is it of old principles, so conservative of experience, so carefully compounded of compromises, of concessions made and accepted. Such men are of a stock so fine as to need no titles to make it noble, and yet so old and so distinguished as actually to bear the chief titles of English liberty. Madison came of the long line of English constitutional statesmen.

There is a type of genius which closely approaches this in character, but which is, nevertheless, distinctively American. It is to be seen in John Marshall and in Daniel Webster. In these men a new set of ideas find expression, ideas which all the world has received as American. Webster was not an English but an American constitutional statesman. For the English statesman constitutional issues are issues of policy rather than issues of law. He constantly handles questions of change: his constitution is always a-making. He must at every turn construct, and he is deemed conservative if only his rule be consistency and continuity with the past. He will search diligently for precedent, but he is content if the precedent contain only a germ of the policy he proposes. His standards are set him, not by law, but by opinion: his constitution is an ideal of cautious and orderly change. Its fixed element is the conception of political liberty: a conception which, though steeped in history, must ever be added to and altered by social change. The American constitutional statesman, on the contrary, constructs policies like a lawyer. The standard with which he must square his conduct is set him by a document upon whose definite sentences the whole structure of the government directly rests. That document, moreover, is the concrete embodiment of a peculiar theory of government. That theory is, that definitive laws, selected by a power outside the government, are the structural iron of the entire fabric of politics, and that nothing which cannot be constructed upon this stiff framework is a safe or legitimate part of policy. Law is, in his conception, creative of States, and they live only by such permissions as they can extract from it. The functions of the judge and the functions of the man of affairs have, therefore, been very closely related in our history, and John Marshall, scarcely less than Daniel Webster, was a constitutional statesman. With all Madison's conservative temper and wide-eyed prudence in counsel, the subject-matter of thought for both of these men was not

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English liberty or the experience of men everywhere in self-government, but the meaning stored up in the explicit sentences of a written fundamental law. They taught men the new—the American—art of extracting life out of the letter, not of statutes merely (that art was not new), but of statute-built institutions and documented governments: the art of saturating politics with law without grossly discoloring law with politics. Other nations have had written constitutions, but no other nation has ever filled a written constitution with this singularly compounded content, of a sound legal conscience and a strong national purpose. It would have been easy to deal with our Constitution like subtle dialecticians; but Webster and Marshall did much more and much better than that. They viewed the fundamental law as a great organic product, a vehicle of life as well as a charter of authority; in disclosing its life they did not damage its tissue; and in thus expanding the law without impairing its structure or authority they made great contributions alike to statesmanship and to jurisprudence. Our notable literature of decision and commentary in the field of constitutional law is America's distinctive contribution to the history and the science of law. John Marshall wrought out much of its substance; Webster diffused its great body of principles throughout national policy, mediating between the law and affairs. The figures of the two men must hold the eye of the world as the figures of two great national representatives, as the figures of two great Americans.

The representative national greatness and function of these men appear more clearly still when they are contrasted with men like John Adams and John C. Calhoun, whose greatness was not national. John Adams represented one element of our national character, and represented it nobly, with a singular dignity and greatness. He was an eminent Puritan statesman, and the Puritan ingredient has colored all our national life. We have gotten strength and persistency and some part of our steady moral purpose from it. But in the quick growth and exuberant expansion of the nation it has been only one element among many. The Puritan blood has mixed with many another strain. The stiff Puritan character has been mellowed by many a transfusion of gentler and more hopeful elements. So soon as the Adams fashion of man became more narrow, intense, acidulous, intractable, according to the tendencies of its nature, in the person of John Quincy Adams, it lost the sympathy, lost even the tolerance, of the country, and the national choice took its reckless

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leap from a Puritan President to Andrew Jackson, a man cast in the rough original pattern of American life at the heart of the continent. John Adams had not himself been a very acceptable President. He had none of the national optimism, and could not understand those who did have it. He had none of the characteristic adaptability of the delocalized American, and was just a bit ridiculous in his stiffness at the Court of St. James, for all he was so honorable and so imposing. His type—be it said without disrespect—was provincial. Unmistakably a great man, his greatness was of the commonwealth, not of the empire.

Calhoun, too, was a great provincial. Although a giant, he had no heart to use his great strength for national purposes. In his youth, it is true, he did catch some of the generous ardor for national enterprise which filled the air in his day; and all his life through, with a truly pathetic earnestness, he retained his affection for his first ideal. But when the rights and interests of his section were made to appear incompatible with a liberal and boldly constructive interpretation of the Constitution, he fell out of national counsels and devoted all the strength of his extraordinary mind to holding the nation's thought and power back within the strait limits of a literal construction of the law. In powers of reasoning his mind deserves to rank with Webster's and Marshall's: he handled questions of law like a master, as they did. He had, moreover, a keen insight into the essential principles and character of liberty. His thought moved eloquently along some of the oldest and safest lines of English thought in the field of government. He made substantive contributions to the permanent philosophy of politics. His reasoning has been discredited, not so much because it was not theoretically sound within its limits, as because its practical outcome was a negation which embarrassed the whole movement of national affairs. He would have held the nation still, in an old equipoise, at one time normal enough, but impossible to maintain. Webster and Marshall gave leave to the energy of change inherent in all the national life, making law a rule, but not an interdict; a living guide, but not a blind and rigid discipline: but Calhoun sought to fix law as a barrier across the path of policy, commanding the life of the nation to stand still. The strength displayed in the effort, the intellectual power and address, abundantly entitle him to be called great; but his purpose was not national. It regarded but a section of the country, and marked him—again be it said with all respect—a great provincial.

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Jefferson was not a thorough American because of the strain of French philosophy that permeated and weakened all his thought. Benton was altogether American so far as the natural strain of his blood was concerned, but he had encumbered his natural parts and inclinations with a mass of undigested and shapeless learning. Bred in the West, where everything was new, he had filled his head with the thought of books (evidently very poor books) which exhibited the ideals of communities in which everything was old. He thought of the Roman Senate when he sat in the Senate of the United States. He paraded classical figures whenever he spoke, upon a stage where both their costume and their action seemed grotesque. A pedantic frontiersman, he was a living and a pompous antinomy. Meant by nature to be an American, he spoiled the plan by applying a most unsuitable gloss of shallow and irrelevant learning. Jefferson was of course an almost immeasurably greater man than Benton, but he was un-American in somewhat the same way. He brought a foreign product of thought to a market where no natural or wholesome demand for it could exist. There were not two incompatible parts to him, as in Benton's case: he was a philosophical radical by nature as well as by acquirement; his reading and his temperament went suitably together. The man is homogeneous throughout. The American shows in him very plainly, too, notwithstanding the strong and inherent dash of what was foreign in his make-up. He was a natural leader and manager of men, not because he was imperative or masterful, but because of a native shrewdness, tact, and sagacity, an inborn art and aptness for combination, such as no Frenchman ever displayed in the management of common men. Jefferson had just a touch of rusticity about him, besides; and it was not pretence on his part or merely a love of power that made him democratic. His indiscriminate hospitality, his almost passionate love for the simple equality of country life, his steady devotion to what he deemed to be the cause of the people, all mark him a genuine democrat, a nature native to America. It is his speculative philosophy that is exotic, and that runs like a false and artificial note through all his thought. It was un-American in being abstract, sentimental, rationalistic, rather than practical. That he held it sincerely need not be doubted; but the more sincerely he accepted it so much the more thoroughly was he un-American. His writings lack hard and practical sense. Liberty, among us, is not a sentiment, indeed, but a product of experience; its derivation is not

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rationalistic, but practical. It is a hard-headed spirit of independence, not the conclusion of a syllogism. The very aërated quality of Jefferson's principles gives them an air of insincerity, which attaches to them rather because they do not suit the climate of the country and the practical aspect of affairs than because they do not suit the character of Jefferson's mind and the atmosphere of abstract philosophy. It is because both they and the philosophical system of which they form a part do seem suitable to his mind and character, that we must pronounce him, though a great man, not a great American.

It is by the frank consideration of such concrete cases that we can construct, both negatively and affirmatively, our canons of Americanism. The American spirit is something more than the old, the immemorial Saxon spirit of liberty from which it sprang. It has been bred by the conditions attending the great task which we have all the century been carrying forward: the task, at once material and ideal, of subduing a wilderness and covering all the wide stretches of a vast continent with a single free and stable polity. It is, accordingly, above all things, a hopeful and confident spirit. It is progressive, optimistically progressive, and ambitious of objects of national scope and advantage. It is unpedantic, unprovincial, unspeculative, unfastidious; regardful of law, but as using it, not as being used by it or dominated by any formalism whatever; in a sense unrefined, because full of rude force; but prompted by large and generous motives, and often as tolerant as it is resolute. No one man, unless it be Lincoln, has ever proved big or various enough to embody this active and full-hearted spirit in all its qualities; and the men who have been too narrow or too speculative or too pedantic to represent it have, nevertheless, added to the strong and stirring variety of our national life, making it fuller and richer in motive and energy; but its several aspects are none the less noteworthy as they separately appear in different men.

One of the first men to exhibit this American spirit with an unmistakable touch of greatness and distinction was Benjamin Franklin. It was characteristic of America that this self-made man should become a philosopher, a founder of philosophical societies, an authoritative man of science; that his philosophy of life should be so homely and so practical in its maxims, and uttered with so shrewd a wit; that one region should be his birthplace and another his home; that he should favor effective political union among the colonies from

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the first, and should play a sage and active part in the establishment of national independence and the planning of national organization; and that he should represent his countrymen abroad. They could have had no spokesman who represented more sides of their character. Franklin was a sort of multiple American. He was versatile without lacking solidity; he was a practical statesman without ceasing to be a sagacious philosopher. He came of the people, and was democratic; but he had raised himself out of the general mass of unnamed men, and so stood for the democratic law, not of equality, but of self-selection in endeavor. One can feel sure that Franklin would have succeeded in any part of the national life that it might have fallen to his lot to take part in. He will stand the final and characteristic test of Americanism: he would unquestionably have made a successful frontiersman, capable at once of wielding the axe and of administering justice from the fallen trunk.

Washington hardly seems an American, as most of his biographers depict him. He is too colorless, too cold, too prudent. He seems more like a wise and dispassionate Mr. Alworthy, advising a nation as he would a parish, than like a man building states and marshalling a nation in a wilderness. But the real Washington was as thoroughly an American as Jackson or Lincoln. What we take for lack of passion in him was but the reserve and self-mastery natural to a man of his class and breeding in Virginia. He was no parlor politician, either. He had seen the frontier, and far beyond it where the French forts lay. He knew the rough life of the country as few other men could. His thoughts did not live at Mount Vernon. He knew difficulty as intimately and faced it always with as quiet a mastery as William the Silent. This calm, straightforward, high-spirited man, making charts of the western country, noting the natural land and water routes into the heart of the continent, marking how the French power lay, conceiving the policy which should dispossess it, and the engineering achievements which should make the utmost resources of the land our own; counselling Braddock how to enter the forest, but not deserting him because he would not take advice; planning step by step, by patient correspondence with influential men everywhere, the meetings, conferences, common resolves which were finally to bring the great constitutional convention together; planning, too, always for the country as well as for Virginia; and presiding at last over the establishment and organization of the government of the Union: he certainly—the most suitable instrument

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of the national life at every moment of crisis—is a great American. Those noble words which he uttered amidst the first doubtings of the constitutional convention might serve as a motto for the best efforts of liberty wherever free men strive: "Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair; the event is in the hand of God."

In Henry Clay we have an American of a most authentic pattern. There was no man of his generation who represented more of America than he did. The singular, almost irresistible attraction he had for men of every class and every temperament came, not from the arts of the politician, but from the instant sympathy established between him and every fellow countryman of his. He does not seem to have exercised the same fascination upon foreigners. They felt toward him as some New Englanders did: he seemed to them plausible merely, too indiscriminately open and cordial to be sincere,—a bit of a charlatan. No man who really takes the trouble to understand Henry Clay, or who has quick enough parts to sympathize with him, can deem him false. It is the odd combination of two different elements in him that makes him seem irregular and inconstant. His nature was of the West, blown through with quick winds of ardor and aggression, a bit reckless and defiant; but his art was of the East, ready with soft and placating phrases, reminiscent of old and reverenced ideals, thoughtful of compromise and accommodation. He had all the address of the trained and sophisticated politician, bred in an old and sensitive society; but his purposes ran free of cautious restraints, and his real ideals were those of the somewhat bumptious Americanism which was pushing the frontier forward in the West, which believed itself capable of doing anything it might put its hand to, despised conventional restraints, and followed a vague but resplendent "manifest destiny" with lusty hurrahs. His purposes were sincere, even if often crude and uninstructed; it was only because the subtle arts of politics seemed inconsistent with the direct dash and bold spirit of the man that they sat upon him like an insincerity. He thoroughly, and by mere unconscious sympathy, represented the double America of his day, made up of a West which hurried and gave bold strokes, and of an East which held back, fearing the pace, thoughtful and mindful of the instructive past. The one part had to be served without offending the other: and that was Clay's mediatorial function.

Andrew Jackson was altogether of the West. Of his sincerity

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nobody has ever had any real doubt; and his Americanism is now at any rate equally unimpeachable. He was like Clay with the social imagination of the orator, and the art and sophistication of the eastern politician, left out. He came into our national politics like a cyclone from off the Western prairies. Americans of the present day perceptibly shudder at the very recollection of Jackson. He seems to them a great Vandal, playing fast and loose alike with institutions and with tested and established policy, debauching politics like a modern spoilsman. But whether we would accept him as a type of ourselves or not, the men of his own day accepted him with enthusiasm. He did not need to be explained to them. They crowded to his standard like men free at last, after long and tedious restraint, to make their own choice, follow their own man. There can be no mistaking the spontaneity of the thoroughgoing support he received. He was the new type of energy and self-confidence bred by life outside the States that had been colonies. It was a terrible energy, threatening sheer destruction to many a carefully wrought arrangement handed on to us from the past; it was a perilous self-confidence, founded in sheer strength rather than in wisdom. The government did not pass through the throes of that signal awakening of the new national spirit without serious rack and damage. But it was no disease. It was only an incautious, abounding, madcap strength that proved so dangerous in its readiness for every rash endeavor. It was necessary that the West should be let into the play: it was even necessary that she should assert her right to the leading rôle. It was done without good taste, but that does not condemn it. We have no doubt refined and schooled the hoyden influences of that crude time, and they are vastly safer now than then, when they first came bounding in; but they mightily stirred and enriched our blood from the first. Now that we have thoroughly suffered this Jackson change, and it is over, we are ready to recognize it as quite as radically American as anything in all our history.

Lincoln, nevertheless, rather than Jackson, was the supreme American of our history. In Clay, East and West were mixed without being fused or harmonized: he seems like two men. In Jackson there was not even a mixture; he was all of a piece, and altogether unacceptable to some parts of the country,—a frontier statesman. But in Lincoln the elements were combined and harmonized. The most singular thing about the wonderful career of the man is the way in which he steadily grew into a national stature.

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He began an amorphous, unlicked cub, bred in the rudest of human lairs; but, as he grew, everything formed, informed, transformed him. The process was slow but unbroken. He was not fit to be President until he actually became President. He was fit then because, learning everything as he went, he had found out how much there was to learn, and had still an infinite capacity for learning. The quiet voices of sentiment and the murmurs of resolution that went whispering through the land, his ear always caught, when others could hear nothing but their own words. He never ceased to be a common man: that was his source of strength. But he was a common man with genius, a genius for things American, for insight into the common thought, for mastery of the fundamental things of politics that inhere in human nature and cast hardly more than their shadows on constitutions, for the practical niceties of affairs, for judging men and assessing arguments. Jackson had no social imagination: no unfamiliar community made any impression on him. His whole fibre stiffened young, and nothing afterward could modify or even deeply affect it. But Lincoln was always a-making; he would have died unfinished if the terrible storms of the war had not stung him to learn in those four years what no other twenty could have taught him. And, as he stands there in his complete manhood, at the most perilous helm in Christendom, what a marvellous composite figure he is! The whole country is summed up in him: the rude Western strength, tempered with shrewdness and a broad and humane wit; the Eastern conservatism, regardful of law and devoted to fixed standards of duty. He even understood the South, as no other Northern man of his generation did. He respected, because he comprehended, though he could not hold, its view of the Constitution; he appreciated the inexorable compulsions of its past in respect of slavery; he would have secured it once more, and speedily if possible, in its right to self-government, when the fight was fought out. To the Eastern politicians he seemed like an accident; but to history he must seem like a providence.

Grant was Lincoln's suitable instrument, a great American general, the appropriate product of West Point. A Western man, he had no thought of commonwealths politically separate, and was instinctively for the Union; a man of the common people, he deemed himself always an instrument, never a master, and did his work, though ruthlessly, without malice: a sturdy, hard-willed taciturn man, a sort of Lincoln the Silent in thought and spirit. He does

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not appeal to the imagination very deeply; there is a sort of common greatness about him, great gifts combined singularly with a great mediocrity; but such peculiarities seem to make him all the more American,—national in spirit, thoroughgoing in method, masterful in purpose.

And yet it is no contradiction to say that Robert E. Lee also was a great American. He fought on the opposite side, but he fought in the same spirit, and for a principle which is in a sense scarcely less American than the principle of Union. He represented the idea of the inherent—the essential—separateness of self-government. This was not the principle of secession: that principle involved the separate right of the several self-governing units of the federal system to judge of national questions themselves independently, and as a check upon the federal government,—to adjudge the very objects of the Union. Lee did not believe in secession, but he did believe in the local rootage of all government. This is at bottom, no doubt, an English idea; but it has had a characteristic American development. It is the reverse side of the shield which bears upon it the devices of the Union, a side too much overlooked and obscured since the war. It conceives the individual State a community united by the most intimate associations, the first home and foster-mother of every man born into the citizenship of the nation. Lee considered himself a member of one of these great families; he could not conceive of the nation apart from the State: above all, he could not live in the nation divorced from his neighbors. His own community must decide his political destiny and duty.

This was also the spirit of Patrick Henry and of Sam Houston,—men much alike in the cardinal principle of their natures. Patrick Henry resisted the formation of the Union only because he feared to disturb the local rootage of self-government, to disperse power so widely that neighbors could not control it. It was not a disloyal or a separatist spirit, but only a jealous spirit of liberty. Sam Houston, too, deemed the character a community should give itself so great a matter that the community, once made, ought itself to judge of the national associations most conducive to its liberty and progress. Without liberty of this intensive character there could have been no vital national liberty; and Sam Houston, Patrick Henry, and Robert E. Lee are none the less great Americans because they represented only one cardinal principle of the national life. Self-government has its intrinsic antinomies as well as its harmonies.

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Among men of letters Lowell is doubtless most typically American, though Curtis must find an eligible place in the list. Lowell was self-conscious, though the truest greatness is not; he was a trifle too "smart," besides, and there is no "smartness" in great literature. But both the self-consciousness and the smartness must be admitted to be American; and Lowell was so versatile, so urbane, of so large a spirit, and so admirable in the scope of his sympathies, that he must certainly go on the calendar.

There need be no fear that we shall be obliged to stop with Lowell in literature, or with any of the men who have been named in the field of achievement. We shall not in the future have to take one type of Americanism at a time. The frontier is gone: it has reached the Pacific. The country grows rapidly homogeneous. With the same pace it grows various, and multiform in all its life. The man of the simple or local type cannot any longer deal in the great manner with any national problem. The great men of our future must be of the composite type of greatness: sound-hearted, hopeful, confident of the validity of liberty, tenacious of the deeper principles of American institutions, but with the old rashness schooled and sobered, and instinct tempered by instruction. They must be wise with an adult, not with an adolescent wisdom. Some day we shall be of one mind, our ideals fixed, our purposes harmonized, our nationality complete and consentaneous: then will come our great literature and our greatest men.

WOODROW WILSON.

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CHILD-STUDY, A NEW DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION.

In this article I shall try to tell how the idea and word *paidology* came to me, and what I mean by them, and to explain some matters pertaining thereto.

From the first annual report of Clark University I first learned of such a thing as a psychological laboratory, and the thought came to me that there might be worked out a pedagogical laboratory. As I had no idea what a psychological laboratory was, or what its work was, so I had no idea what a pedagogical laboratory should be or should do. But my subsequent work in the psychological laboratory at Clark University kept the pedagogical scheme fresh in my mind, and I believed that such work could be applied to children. I could not free myself from this thought. I was rather timid about expressing it, for fear of being considered "cranky," but I quietly made inquiries whether there was such an institution in Europe, and learned that nothing of the kind exists. When, in March, 1893, I explained to President Hall my views about bringing the child into the laboratory, he said that this was an entirely new idea, and that no such work was being done anywhere, and he encouraged me to go on.

I reached the conclusion that a Department of Pedagogy in colleges and universities should include not only such work as the Science of Education, the History of Education, School-Supervision, and the like, as many pedagogical departments now do, but also all things pertaining to the child, such as are studied by anthropologists, psychologists, physiologists, and others. I felt that this work could be better done in a department whose specialty this should be, than as incidental to other departments and as mere pastime for them. My study of the hearing of children led me to see that the testing of the hearing and all such work must be carried on by scientists and not by school-officials, so that all bias could be laid aside and only facts ascertained. I felt that the child should be studied in a scientific manner by scientists whose sole business should be such study. I felt that the child is surely of as much importance

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as the plant, which has a department to itself—botany; or the animal, which has a department to itself—zoology. I thought that as long as the study of the child was regarded as an incident of several departments, he would never be properly studied.

Then it became clear that this work is not pedagogy at all, but is something entirely new and has no right to be placed under pedagogy. It is a new department that must be opened in college—a department of child-study, which I have ventured to call Paidology. By this is meant exactly what the word literally means—"the Science of the Child." It is a pure science whose duty it is to inquire into the life, the growth, the ideas, the very being of the child. (I use the term "child" in the general sense, covering the whole period from birth or before birth up to manhood.) It is to stand to the child as botany to the plant, or as mineralogy to the mineral. It is not pedagogy, for pedagogy is an applied science. It really can have no more to do with pedagogy than with theology or medicine, except in so far as pedagogy may be more closely connected with the child than these. Its sole aim is to study the child in all his phases in a scientific manner, which may afford material for a scientific application of its results to pedagogy, to medicine, to theology, to the home-training and care of the child, and the like. As far as I know, the idea of making child-study, or Paidology, a separate department in college and university and normal school, and perhaps in high school, has not been brought out by anybody else, strange to say. Sometimes the study of the child is spoken of as a division of pedagogy; then, again, as a part of psychology; then, as coming under anthropology. Never is it put in the same department by all.

Is there a need for this special department—Paidology—in our colleges? For quite a time there have been pedagogical departments, and psychological departments, and philosophical departments, and a string of others in our colleges. But how much do you know—do I know—about the child? Let us look down into our thoughts and see how little we really know of his true nature. But suppose that the years we spent in the study of Greek and Latin and trigonometry and what-not had been spent in the study of the child, would we be so ignorant of the only object in life worth living for? How much do we know in regard to the foundation causes that throw so many boys and girls out of our schools, and out of our homes, to become outcasts from society? Can it be possible that there is some little physical impediment that causes all this, as an adenoid growth or wax

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in the ears? May it be true that the poor child whom we have been abusing in school or at home is just the least bit feeble-minded, and so lacks the will-power to obey our commands, however much he may desire to obey? Is it necessary to continue these questions? God pity our ignorance!

Here are some quotations which I have incidentally picked up, bearing—though it may be indirectly—upon this subject:

"The educators have long been waiting for psychology to furnish them with data on the mind of the child, but for the psychologist that is a subordinate subject, and even when he undertakes it he starts from an entirely different point of view, passing over as unimportant many things of vital interest to the educator."—Dr. E. W. Scripture, in the "Pedagogical Seminary," Vol. II., p. 111.

To the paidologist the mind of the child would not be a subordinate matter, as Dr. Scripture rightly says it necessarily is to the psychologist.

"For, after all, the observation of mental development in the earliest years naturally falls to the mother more than to any other person. But in order to initiate mothers into so complicated a science as that of psychogenesis, the results already attained in it must be presented to them in a form as easy of assimilation as possible. Other persons also—teachers, both male and female, fathers, older brothers and sisters—are to be induced to consider the importance of the facts in the field which has indeed been lying open for hundreds of years, but has been little trodden, and is therefore a new field."—Prof. Preyer, in "Mental Development of the Child," translation of H. W. Brown, p. xvi of Author's Preface.

What better place can be thought of for presenting such work than a department whose sole aim is to inquire into the child, and thus train the young men and the young women who are to become the fathers and the mothers of the future?

The child is the most important object upon earth for our consideration. His health, his nurture, his training, his development are far more worthy of our regard than anything else. Yet I am quite positive that all will agree with me that there is less known about the child, and less attention given to his care, than to almost anything else. If you doubt this, suppose you visit a florist's establishment, and have him show you how careful he is with his flowers, and then go into any school-room and examine the atmosphere, the temperature, and the like. One can hardly say that parents, teachers, and others care more for flowers than they care for children. I think their neglect is more on account of ignorance than of carelessness. In order to make it possible that the parent, the teacher, the physi-

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cian, the minister, the merchant, may know how to treat the child, it is necessary that the child be studied, analyzed,—catalogued, one might say. It seems to me that the best way to do this is to train young men and young women in our colleges and schools in the study of the child, and so send out a number of people into the various walks of life who can get "into" the life of the child. To make fathers and mothers is really a great duty that our colleges owe to the nation; yet, if you wished your son or your daughter to learn something about the duties of fatherhood or of motherhood along with the literary training of the college, do you know of a school in which such training is given? Paidology will take up—and *must* take up—this very necessary work. A department working only in this direction can focus study on the child, and make him the centre and subject of a great work such as is needed for an understanding of him. The work that is done now need not cease, but it can be gathered up by this department and all put into a systematic whole. That the true work upon the child will never be done—and in fact *can* never be done—until it is carried on by a body of workers solely devoted to this one object, needs no proving.

The results of this work can be used in all things connected with the child. If this study is scientifically and properly carried on, there is no doubt in my mind but that it will revolutionize all the present methods of approach to the child. The Sunday-schools of the present day, for instance, are almost a farce, because so little is known of the child's religious nature, and these schools are trying to fasten upon him, no doubt, many useless and worthless things. Now, if the child's religious nature can be understood, we shall have a firm foundation upon which the church may build for his development. Let every parent think how little he knows about his children, and, if he can recall his knowledge of the infant when his first child was born, he will realize of how great worth this work of Paidology will be to young parents, and how it would be welcomed by those who truly wish to care for their children. It will be of untold value to the physician, for the most physicians at present know next to nothing of the child. Perhaps the greatest application of such knowledge will be in the school-room, because the school-room is the work-shop, the business-house, the office of the child, and hence more may be done for him there than elsewhere. The ignorance regarding children of us who are teachers, is so great that it shames me to speak of it. Through paidological results, Pedagogy will be

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aided to go forward and take its proper place at the head of all the professions instead of at the foot, as now. The results of such work can be applied in laws; for, when the child is well understood, such laws can be passed and enforced as will save many children from becoming paupers and criminals. The results can be applied in society, in reforms for children, in all kinds of business which have to deal with the child. In fact, the results of Paidology will go into every business, every profession, every reform, every science in which the child is a factor.

The subject-matter of Paidology must for the most part come from the work that has been done upon the child by men in other departments. Anthropology and folk-lore will furnish quite an important part, as games, songs, counting-out rhymes, secret languages, and myths in regard to the child. Anthropometry (in Paidology we can use the word "paidometry") will give weights, growths, measurements; Pathology will give a most interesting side, for diseases of children will form a great chapter in this study; Physiology will add its quota, as will also Neurology; Psychology will furnish quite a good deal of material, as Preyer's great work and that of Perez and Hall fit in here; under the lead of Principal Russell and Professor Barnes Pedagogy will give considerable material. Besides these, there are other fields that have done something in child-study. It does not matter where this work has been done, Paidology can claim it for its own, because all work on the child belongs to this department. Of course it is scarcely necessary to mention that the best, the purest, and the largest volume of material will be furnished by the child himself. At first sight one might think that the best material and the best lines to follow in this work would be found in Psychology, but perhaps Psychology will not aid as much as one would at first suppose, because our psychology now is the study of the adult, and the application of this to the child may be putting "old heads on young shoulders." I am inclined to believe that the outcome of this work will be to lay entirely different plans from those now in vogue.

Among a number of societies which have been formed for the study of the child, two seem at present to be quite promising. One is that which was organized last summer at Chicago, "The National Association for the Study of Children," at the head of which is President G. Stanley Hall, of Clark University, who has recently issued an excellent syllabus of topics for the study of children. The other is the "Association of Collegiate Alumnæ," which has a

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"section for the study of the development of children." Mrs. Annie Howes Barns, of Washington, D. C., is chairman of this section, and the committee has issued a circular containing outlines of the work. A very pleasing notice in this circular is that—

> "Professor Preyer, of Berlin University, the leading specialist on this subject, has offered to examine and return all six-months series of notes taken in accordance with directions . . . and forwarded to him by the committee; and it is recommended that as many observers as possible avail themselves of this offer."

It is remarkable how much work has been done within the past few years. When Dr. Hall wrote his "Bibliography" (1886) he found but fifty-nine reports in this work, as placed under the chapter on "The Study and Observation of Children." Many are familiar with the large bibliography that Dr. Tracy has gathered in "The Psychology of Childhood." Dr. Chamberlain tells me that he has a stack of references in anthropology on investigations of the child. In medicine, as all know, the literature is vast. At present there is very much being done in this study. There need be no fear but that the child himself will furnish material to any one who will study him. This was well shown last spring upon my bringing children into the psychological laboratory. I was permitted to use the apparatus and to try on the children the problems in Dr. Sanford's Laboratory Course in Physiological Psychology (see "The American Journal of Psychology," Vol. IV.). The children came two at a time, two or three times each week, for five or six weeks, into the room where the apparatus was, and they enjoyed the work. I tried to pick out such tests as would prove whether children could be worked on in the laboratory or not. There were some sixty of Dr. Sanford's tests used. They were made on six girls and three boys, the girls being three and a half, nine, twelve, fourteen, fourteen, and fourteen years of age respectively, and the boys five, six, and seven. I found that children can be brought into the laboratory, can be experimented with as well as with adults, and that in some ways the child makes a better subject than the adult. In one experiment I took a piece of red paper, an inch or so square, and placed it on a large piece of white paper lying on a table, all being so arranged that the child could stand by the table and could look directly down upon the red strip. Before he was placed by the table this red piece was removed. All being ready, I put the child in the proper position at the table and gave these directions: (1)

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"Close your eyes" (while his eyes were closed I placed the red piece before him); (2) "Hold your left eye closed with your finger;" (3) "Open your right eye"; (4) "Look steadily at the red piece of paper for some little time"; (5) "Close your eyes" (while the eyes were closed I quickly blew the red paper away); (6) "Hold your right eye closed with your finger"; (7) "Open your left eye"; (8) "What do you see?" The boy, seven years of age, saw nothing, so he said. The girl, nine years old, promptly replied, "I see a blue piece like the red." She was right, for she really did see the negative after-image of the red piece, and the negative after-image of a color is its complementary color, and in the case of red it is a greenish-blue. I have tried this experiment on myself, and as yet I have not been able to get any results whatever. The nine-year old child, therefore, is a better subject for the experiment than myself.

In another experiment I had the child close her right ear with her finger, and hold the end of a tape-line on her head, just in front of the left ear. I unrolled the tape-line, and with my watch I found how far she could hear the ticking. I moved the watch backward and forward along the tape-line, held it far off, hid it in my clothing, and so on, until I was sure that the right distance was found at which the child could hear the ticking. I was very careful not to let the watch touch either the tape-line or my hand that held the line. Then I tried the right ear in the same manner. The tests were made on two girls,—one twelve years of age, the other fourteen. Before testing their hearing I asked them if they were hard of hearing, and both thought they were not, although the older girl said that she could study much better if the left ear was turned toward the other pupils. The older girl heard the watch at three inches in the left ear and at fifty-one inches in the right ear. The younger girl heard in both ears at sixteen inches. Reichard, who was the first to investigate the hearing of school-children (his work was carried on at Riga, Russia, in 1878), says that he found twenty inches to be about the average reach of hearing his watch—a medium-loud-ticking watch. As my watch is a feeble ticker, I judge that the twelve-year old girl has normal hearing; and any one can see that the fourteen-year old girl has very acute hearing in her right ear, but is nearly deaf in her left ear. I venture to say that her parents and her teachers have never surmised that such is the case with her ears. I had made several other experiments with her before this one, and I had no idea that she had a deaf ear till this test. How one may never suspect that a child is

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hard of hearing is well shown in a third test which I give only to illustrate this fact. There is in the psychological laboratory a series of tuning-forks, each differing from the next by about three vibrations a second. These girls were asked to arrange the forks in the order of their pitch. The girl with the unequal bilateral hearing took the forks, and, by striking them on the table and holding them to her right ear, was able to arrange them with very little trouble. The other girl was unable to arrange them correctly. Almost any one would think the first girl to be the more acute in the perception of sound, and so she is in the right ear. I would advise every parent to test his child's hearing with his watch and a tape-line, and if it falls below twenty inches it may be well to consult an aurist, or, at least, to be very patient with that child. This experiment should be tried at several different times, because deaf children hear better at some times than at others.

The opening up of a new department of work is always a very difficult matter. This new Science of the Child has been touched upon a little here and a little there, by this science and by that science, until the material that needs to be gathered up is in a tangled mass. The gathering of this material and the sifting that it requires is a great task, which will not be accomplished in a day. That important side of Paidology which will be found in the writings of anthropologists about the children of savage tribes will require much patience and searching, for it is scattered in many tongues. It will necessarily be quite a little time before paidologists can be sent out among these savage tribes to gather material for themselves; but in time this must and will be done. So it will be in regard to the child in other lines of work touched upon now by the other sciences.

The study of the child is, perhaps, the most difficult of all studies, for the higher we ascend in the scale of animal life the more complex becomes its nature, and hence the harder to understand. Again, this is new work, and there are no guide-boards along the road: in fact there is not even a road. Moreover it is easy to misjudge children by their actions. The infant is extremely hard to understand. I fear we never will very well understand it. One is so likely to wish to interpret child-action altogether incorrectly and to add to it. Our anthropomorphic tendencies in the way of looking at things, as Preyer says, may lead us to attribute more to the child than belongs to him. Yet I have found a little daylight ahead from

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the study of my own child, from my work with children in the laboratory last spring, and from my reading.

In a very small way I have given some idea of the vast field lying open, as yet barely entered upon. I have tried to point out in what directions lie the great amount of ungathered literature upon the subject. From the little study that I have made of the matter (and if I had studied more I might not be so rash as to go on to make the coming statements) I am led to make the following predictions: Ten years hence, in all the leading colleges of our land, the Child will be a topic of study. In the most advanced of our colleges the Child will be studied, pure and simple, as other subjects are studied now. There will be a pure study of the Child, and an applied study. In some few of our colleges there will be a department which will make a special study of the Child, with a name and aim different from any that exist now. Whether it will be called a "Department of Paidology," or some other name, it matters not; but there will be a name which will designate this department just as names at present designate others. I predict, further, that some of my readers will live long enough to wonder how it was possible for colleges and universities to have existed so long, and to have differentiated so many departments of study, and yet to have waited almost till the beginning of the twentieth century to create a department which is—shall I say—worth more than all the others put together? They will live to see the day when the Science of the Child will have taught the world more in fifty years about the child than the world learned during the preceding five thousand years.

I cannot better end this paper than by giving a short quotation from Dr. W. T. Harris' "Editor's Preface" to the translation of Preyer's "Infant Mind":

> "This movement, known as 'Child-study,' has received great impulse in this country within a few years, especially through the labors of Dr. Stanley Hall, who may be called the pioneer and enthusiastic promoter of the good work."

OSCAR CHRISMAN.

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THE GOLD BASIS FIXED BY COMMERCE ITSELF.

THE statistics of prices and wages in this country and in Great Britain, as far back as they can be carried, disclose greater variations a half a century or more since, between one section or one community and another in either country, than now exist between prices and wages in this country and other countries. Even in this country at the present time a comparison of the rates of wages in specific occupations discloses greater variations in the relation of one section of this country to another section than even now exist in the ratio of the general rate of wages in this country to that of others.

With the growth of modern industrial civilization and the improvement and extension of the mechanism of distribution which began a little more than a century since, the isolation of small communities ceased. The interdependence of these small communities, sometimes hardly more than a family or clan, developed rapidly. Presently contiguous townships began to exchange services; then states became interdependent; then contiguous sections of great countries; then contiguous countries; finally, since the rapid extension of the railway and the steamship, the whole world has become or is becoming a neighborhood. Each continent and each nation is more and more dependent upon the other,—that is to say, all are becoming interdependent. Commerce makes its way in spite of every obstruction. The smuggler or the army contractor qualifies the highest rates of duty and annuls the edicts by which commerce is forbidden. It is said that the troops of Napoleon who fought at Ulm, and those who marched to Moscow, were clad in English fabrics obtained by contractors from his bitterest enemy, with whom he had attempted to cut off all trade relations, and whose commerce he had striven to destroy.

Witness the present relations of this country with Great Britain. We depend mainly upon her purchase of our excess of food and cotton fibre to relieve us of our over-abundant product. Her people depend mainly upon us for the food which they consume and the cotton fibres which they so largely spin. So it is throughout all

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nations, continents, and races in a greater or less proportion. With the development of these interdependent conditions each country tends to increase the production of an excess of all the products in which it can excel others, at steadily increasing rates of wages, and yet at a lessening money-cost of production. These are the beneficent conditions which are consequent upon the application of science and invention to industrial life.

The principal products which are exported by this country, whether of the field, the forest, the mine, or the factory, are each and all products in which the rates of wages that are recovered from their sale are conspicuously higher than those of any other country in which the same articles are produced. The rates of wages which are recovered or derived in this country from the production of wheat are the highest in the world, while the money-cost of producing the wheat, measured by the unit of product, is the lowest. In cotton the same rule holds; in oil the rule holds; in copper the rule holds; many products of metal, such as watches, screws, steam-valves, shovels, sewing-machines, and locomotive engines, are governed by the same rule of high wages and low money-cost; in leather the same rule holds. Hence it follows that the tendency of all continents, nations, and states in the world is to become more and more dependent upon each other,—that is to say, interdependent. Each country depends upon some other for many articles of necessity, comfort, or luxury, in which other country the natural conditions are most favorable to production. By this exchange of products or services both are profited. Commerce lives and moves and has its being in the mutuality of benefits.

Wages are derived, or recovered, from the sale of the products on which the work is exerted, capital serving as a force in promoting and continuing the work. The share which the laborer secures rests not only upon his own skill and industry, but upon the requisite capital safely supplied; while both depend upon the natural conditions being suitable to the conduct of the work at the least cost measured in terms of money. Where all the conditions are favorable, the money-cost per unit of product and the ensuing money-price will be lowest, while the share of that product or its equivalent, which the workman will secure to his own use, will be the largest.

Our conditions being most favorable, the United States possesses the paramount advantage of being able to produce a great excess of

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all the necessaries of life far beyond our own wants. Fuel, food, timber, and metals can be supplied by us at the highest rates of wages and at the lowest money-cost of production. We are subject to the least burden of national taxation and of costly and useless armies and navies. Hence it follows that in our international commerce we serve all others most effectually while gaining on our own part the larger element of profit.

We may take as an example of the supremacy of this country the relative conditions which govern the production of coke as compared with the conditions in other steel-making countries. The coking-coal of England, which is necessary to the production of steel, is so far exhausted as to make the present cost very high even at rates of wages much lower than our own. This is due to the quantity of labor required and to the unfavorable conditions in which the coke is produced in England, which formerly excelled all others in this product. The Durham mines of England, which are the principal source of coking-coal, are now said to be worked at a depth of two thousand feet in a temperature of 104° F. The coal lies in horizontal veins only two feet from the under to the upper side, within which narrow space the workman must lie upon his side, and where he can stay only four hours at a time. Compare these conditions with those of the Pittsburgh, Pa., or Pocahontas, Va., mines, and with the other conditions under which coke is produced in this country. One may almost eliminate the whole of the money-cost of labor from the cost of English coke, and charge it only with the money-cost of maintaining the mechanism that is used in the mines and at the ovens in which the coal is converted, and still the Pittsburgh and Pocahontas mines and coke-works would excel at low cost and at high wages, either in the delivery of the coal at the mouth of the pit, or of the coke on the cars at the door of the oven.

Let it be considered that the nations or states in which fuel, metal, and timber may be produced at the highest relative rates of wages and at the lowest money-cost per unit of product will thereby be enabled to apply labor-saving machinery to other branches of productive industry in the most effective manner. Let it be borne in mind that the machine-using nations of the world must control its commerce; and then a forecast may possibly be made of the future supremacy of this country on the basis of the display of food, fuel, timber, and metal which was the undertone of the great Columbian Exposition at Chicago. The development of these great resources

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have in this and in every other country been a necessary antecedent to the interdependence of nations.

A stable unit of value, unvarying within the period necessary to ordinary commercial transactions, is necessary to the right conduct of international commerce or exchange. There are certain very important results which may be deduced from these facts in determining the unit of value. The world has become so dependent upon this country for a large proportion of its food, fibre, oil, and copper,—as it will soon become for coal, iron, and steel,—as to render the export price of the excess of these products the prime factor in determining the price of the whole. The articles which can thus be exported consist of grain, cotton, provisions, dairy products, timber, metals, oils, and other staples, and these exports form so large a proportion of the whole national product as to have become a dominant factor in giving direction to the occupations and the employment of our own people. It follows of necessity that the rates of wages which can be earned or recovered from the sale of these exportable products practically determine the general rate of wages throughout the country, even in other arts of which the products can neither be imported nor exported. Hence all prices and all wages are brought for their ultimate determination to a comparison with the standard or price that can be obtained for that part of the annual product which is exported. In order that this price may be equitably established, it must be measured by some relatively unvarying standard, and by the same unit of value that governs international commerce, in which all the transactions of such commerce are liquidated when expressed in terms of money. Correspondingly the conditions of Great Britain rest on the relation of general rates and prices within Great Britain to the prices at which the food and materials which are consumed in her manufactures can be imported. The possibility of import sets the standard of wages and prices in Great Britain as the possibility of export sets the standard in the United States.

Dealing with the interdependence of this country and Great Britain, and their close relations with each other,—their commerce with each other being greater than with any other state or nation,—we then find that the prime factor in determining all prices and all wages is the price at which we can exchange with each other. Whether we will or no, whether we are governed by prejudice and ignorance or by intelligence, when viewed in the light of mutual service this dominating fact exists. The English-speaking people are interdependent,

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however widely they may seem to be parted in policy or in feeling. Such being the interdependent relations of the two principal importing and exporting countries, which are also the two chief machine-using nations of the world thereby dominating all commerce, it follows that the commerce of all other nations must adjust itself to the terms and conditions by which this part of international commerce is conducted.

Having thus dealt with the theory, regard may next be given to the facts. Unless the facts are consistent with the theory, the theory is a bad one. We find, however, that in fact all international commerce has adjusted itself to a unit or standard of value which is expressed in terms of gold; and in or by comparison with this unit or standard of value all prices are finally determined or expressed. International prices are measured or expressed in pounds sterling, but the pound sterling is only a name for an aggregate of one hundred and thirteen grains of gold. This adjustment to this specific unit of value has been made because such is the safest, surest, least costly, and most convenient standard and method of determining the relation of one commodity to others, in the exchange of which commerce consists. If it had not been the safest and best unit, some other would have been discovered and adopted. This unit or standard of value has been slowly developed as an international measure in the progress of mankind, without regard to legislation of any kind, and without the intervention or interference of any act of legal tender. No such act of international legal tender now exists.

The question now arises, What would be the standard or unit of value were such a treaty of international legal tender negotiated? What is meant by bimetallism is that there shall be an international agreement of legal tender under which a given weight of silver or a given weight of gold will discharge any debt at the option of the debtor. It is not probable, but it is conceivable, that such a treaty may be negotiated. After the enactment of such a treaty, what would then occur? Would the present unit or standard of value in international commerce be changed? Would silver displace gold, or serve equally with gold at an arbitrary ratio of weight named in such a treaty? In all international agreements and contracts such as are now made in terms of weight of gold under the name of pound sterling, that name might disappear, because that name would of necessity be incorporated in the act of international legal tender. But would not the same reasons that have caused one hundred and

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thirteen grains of gold to become the standard of all international agreements under the name of pound sterling lead to the establishment among merchants and bankers of an international unit or name for some other given weight of gold? Might not bills of exchange be drawn for one hundred grains of gold so that there could be no other tender? A contract for a given weight or quantity of pure gold can be satisfied only by a specific delivery, and by nothing else without bankruptcy. A contract for copper cannot be satisfied by the delivery of steel, for tin by the delivery of lead, or of gold by the delivery of silver.

All legal-tender acts of every name and nature recognize the right of individuals to make special contracts by weight of metal either for gold, silver, iron, copper, or lead, and these contracts can be fulfilled only by the delivery of the specific weight of the specific metal named in the contract, at the peril of bankruptcy. Under such special international contracts the gold standard could be as easily maintained *after* a treaty of alternate legal tender of coined money as *before*. The same forces which govern men now would control the matter under the changed conditions; and if such contracts were safer, surer, and less costly than contracts made in terms of money or coin of alternate legal tender that would come within the terms of the international treaty, then all international agreements would be liquidated in this way by bills of exchange drawn against a certain weight of pure gold, described by grains, carats, ounces, or by some other measure of weight.

But this would not be the end of the matter. The interdependence of nations is increasing and not diminishing. If the point is well taken that the prime factor, in, first, determining money-prices and, second, in determining the money-rate of wages, is the price that the excess of product of any kind will bring for export to some other country, then it would of necessity follow that all prices and all wages in each country would be brought to the standard or unit of value in which international commerce might be conducted. It follows of necessity that, if gold has become the standard or unit of value through a process of natural selection, it will maintain itself without regard to legislation or treaty. All national prices and wages measured in terms of coin or lawful money would then be adjusted in each and all countries to this standard or single unit of value. Duality in a unit is unthinkable. A greater or less use of silver as a monetary metal might ensue under a bimetallic treaty. It

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is not my purpose now to deal with that branch of the question. The present unit of value *is* a given number of grains of gold. If that unit has been adopted because it is the safest, surest, and best standard, it will be maintained for the same reasons that brought it into use without regard to legislation, treaty, or agreement.

The recent struggle on the silver question in the United States Senate was but a passing phase. It will have no effect upon the ultimate settlement of a problem which is not governed by legislation, but which is controlled by the higher laws of commerce. In this interval of factious discussion great injury was done, and greater may ensue. This evil was brought about by the effort of a purely selfish minority in Congress sustained by a few men of sincere purpose who are without experience either in the conduct of commerce, manufactures, or banking.

The reason why a unit of gold has become the unit of value is that such a unit or its multiples will buy anything anywhere. It is the only medium by which each and every debt in every civilized country can be liquidated either in bullion certified pure or in coin. It has varied slowly by depreciation in long centuries of use, becoming more abundant in proportion to the actual use which is made of coin, especially since the great discoveries of gold in 1849 and 1850. But it varies so little in the ordinary period of commercial transactions as to make it more nearly an absolute standard than any other instrument of exchange ever yet evolved. Its great and complete justification in this country is to be found in the fact that since specie payment was reëstablished upon the gold unit of value on the 1st of January, 1879, there has been a progressive and almost continuous reduction in the price of the necessaries of life, accompanied by such improvements due to science and invention in their production, that there is not a single important article that can be named of which the reduction in price is not more than justified by the reduction in cost due to labor-saving improvements which have been applied either to primary or secondary production and to distribution since that date or since 1873. On the other hand, the lawful unit of value, a gold dollar, is completely justified by the benefit which has ensued from its adoption by that great majority of the working people of this country who earn their daily bread from salaries, earnings, or wages. There was never a period in the history of the world in which an industrious workman of this country, possessing skill and aptitude either in the higher or lower grades of

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labor, could secure so many units of gold in compensation for his work as during the years 1890, 1891, and a part of 1892; nor has there been a period in which he could buy so large a quantity of the necessaries of life with his earnings as in the year 1891 and the early part of 1892.

The malignant effect of the effort to substitute the silver unit of value for the gold unit, or to make two of the products of labor of unequal cost arbitrarily equal in their valuation or estimation by legislation, resulted, as it was long predicted it would result, in a temporary paralysis of industry, and in one of the sharpest *non*-commercial crises that this country has ever known. The effect has been to reduce many prices below cost, bringing about a reduction of wages and lack of full employment. All these evil effects happened at a period when the natural conditions and the previous industrial and business conditions might have made, and would have made, the year 1893 one of the most prosperous that this country has ever witnessed. Powerless to change a standard or unit of value which has grown out of the experience of mankind, an incompetent minority, by the adoption of factious methods, inflicted upon the people of this country evils of the worst kind, such as have always ensued from tampering with the coin of the realm, whenever that attempt has been made by despotic rulers, by ignorant legislators, or by factious minorities to whom circumstances happened to have given a temporary power of obstruction to righteous legislation.

The maintenance of the single unit of value—a grain of gold or its multiples—as the standard of commerce, does not imply the necessary disuse of silver as a monetary metal. Silver will continue to be used as a subsidiary coin in the great commercial nations, and as the chief monetary metal of the larger portion of the population of the globe for generations yet to come. On its increasing use there may and probably will be a rise in the price of bullion whenever the commercial world is relieved from the fear of the United States Treasury selling its stock of silver, and from the effect of damming up the product of silver by purchase in this country in a useless and dangerous manner. Bimetallism exists and will continue to exist; that is to say, the use both of gold and silver for monetary purposes. But under the name of "bimetallism" the effort has been made to give debtors a choice in the medium of payment, of which the creditor is deprived, which is neither just nor right. A debased coin or a debased promise of coin when made legal tender drives true money—that is, money which contains the elements of its own valuation in

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its own substance—out of circulation. The only unit of value which can be permanently maintained in the form of coin is that kind of coin which is worth as much after it is melted as it purports to be worth in the coin itself. Any effort to displace a unit of value which meets these conditions, and to substitute money of limited purchasing power for money of universal purchasing power, is sure to fail; doing greater harm to those who ignorantly adopt such a measure than it does to any one else.

This country is to a greater extent the creditor nation of the world than any other; not in respect to the insignificant element of capital borrowed of other nations for investment within our own limits, but with respect to the conditions under which we conduct our international commerce. The articles which we buy from other countries are to a very large extent articles such as we can spare. The products which we sell are, almost to the full extent of our exports, products which the world cannot spare. Hence it follows that, having established the prices of our grain, our provisions, our oil, and our cotton, upon the unit of value made of gold, for which we annually become creditor in such manner that the price of the whole domestic product rests or is established by the price at which we export our excess, we hold a check payable on demand in gold or its equivalent on every bank or banker in Europe. When we require the gold, we can have it. Our goods the world must have; and, when it is more profitable to us to demand payment in gold rather than in other goods, that gold we can always secure to the fullest extent that may be required by the monetary circulation of our own country.

If we were to negotiate a bimetallic treaty under which we should give other nations an option to meet their contracts for these products of our own which they cannot spare, either in gold or silver at an arbitrary ratio of weight, we should wholly lose the advantage of our position. We should throw away our paramount supremacy; because the very essence of a bimetallic act of legal tender is to give the debtor a choice of which the creditor is deprived. Holding as we now do the complete control over the reserves of gold everywhere by virtue of our being the creditor nation in the sale of products which the outside world cannot spare, are we called upon to enter into an international agreement which would enable our foreign creditors to pay us either in gold or in silver, while we deprive ourselves—as we should under such an agreement—of all power to choose the metal that we might prefer?

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Under the present aspect of low cost and large production of silver in ratio to gold, can it be doubted that the sagacious nations of Europe would under such an option choose to pay us in the low-cost metal, retaining for their own use that metal which has now established itself as the safest, surest, and best unit of value yet evolved? A shrewd nation such as we consider ourselves will hardly be apt to offer such an option while depriving itself of the choice of the coin or metal which it will accept. Would it be prudent to enter into international relations governing the exchange of our products under an agreement by which the old saying would be reversed,—offering an option to others of "Heads you win; tails we lose"?

Other nations have waited, in the hope—but hardly in the expectation—that we should be so foolish as to submit to the disadvantages of the silver standard. The direct and urgent effort to bring this country to that standard has been stamped out. The more subtle danger has yet to be met. It will come in the guise of an effort to give our foreign debtors an option in the medium of payment of which as creditors we should deprive ourselves. It will be called "Bimetallism," to which name it has no title. Its true name has not yet been invented. In a form in syllables about corresponding in number to the name under which it now goes, it should be called "Bi-legal-tenderism," or an option given to the debtor of which the creditor is deprived.

Bimetallism, or the use of both gold and silver as monetary metals, exists and will continue to exist, but that subject will not now be treated. Until the coinage and use of the so-called precious metals are considered separately from acts of legal tender, the conditions of this question will remain obscure.

The unit of value in international commerce has established itself on its own merits at the standard of a given number of grains of gold. Our national unit of value is now established by law on the same basis. The price at which all our products are bought and sold is established directly or indirectly by the price at which our excess of product can be sold. Under these conditions it becomes more important to us than to any other nation to maintain the single unit of value as it now is. Duality in a unit is unthinkable. The safety, security, and advantage of our paramount control in our dealings with other nations cannot be surrendered by the enactment of any treaty, agreement, or statute of international legal tender, without great probable danger and loss to ourselves.

EDWARD ATKINSON.

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A BOOTLESS WRANGLE ABOUT RELIGION IN THE SCHOOLS.

It is not a little remarkable to notice the number of illusions under which the defenders of religious teaching in the public schools labor. There is some direct criticism of the conduct and methods of Roman Catholicism in New York city and elsewhere in regard to this and affiliated problems, and there is much more that savors of anxiety about the secularization of the public schools and the fear that the great class of American plebs will not obtain access to religious instruction. But there is seldom the faintest trace of a scientific and philosophic discussion of the question. The discussion is seldom little more than an echo of the general alarm felt by the religious conservatives at the incursions made by modern scientific progress into the territory of traditional beliefs and practices, or inertia feeling the impulse of a new movement. Unfortunately this solicitude for the moral and religious welfare of the multitude is often blind. It has a vague premonition of some impending evil, but not the slightest insight into the method of averting it; but it reposes like decrepitude upon the rotten staff of tradition for the salvation of the masses. The public does not take the subject so seriously, and perhaps feels little sympathy with either party to the controversy; and only a few, though strong and well organized, espouse the secular side, being able to use the apathy of the public and the progressive spirit of the age to carry out their purposes.

I have no disposition to defend either side of the question so hotly disputed. The enthusiasms of both parties seem to me misdirected. Indeed they would only be the subject of good-natured amusement or contempt were the question not so serious. It is not serious, however, because either party is right in its view, but because the religious party is so hopelessly astray in its conception of moral education, while the other either ludicrously exaggerates the evils of religion in the public schools, or is fighting an imaginary enemy. It is nearly always taken for granted that a writer on this problem must advocate or oppose the Bible and the teaching of

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religion in the public schools, and this expectation as frequently induces disputants to array themselves on one side or the other. But while thinking that the subject deserves the most serious attention of earnest men, I would like to remind them that there is a side to it which heaps ridicule upon both parties, and at the same time can neither be accused of sympathy with skepticism nor be reproached for the want of moral earnestness. It is high time that the subject be taken up and discussed in this manner. I propose, therefore, to point out some very plain truths regarding it.

The arguments by which religious teaching in the public schools is usually opposed can be summed up in three: (1) the argument from the separation of church and state, its corollary being the separation of religious from state schools; (2) the argument from taxation; (3) the argument from the sectarian conflicts as to what is the true religion to be taught. While the first and third of these arguments have much force, and the second very little, they have been threshed dry, and at the same time have succeeded in concealing from everybody the real question that ought to be discussed. Hence I shall simply pass them by and come directly to the real nature and difficulties of the problem.

Most denominational minds realize at once the difficulty and impropriety of selecting any particular creed to be taught, and so fall back upon simple Christianity. For instance one leading divine said in a recent conference: "The state cannot teach denominational religion. She can provide that her children are instructed in Christianity." But such an argument only makes the matter worse. A man who would rest upon such assertions must either have no sense of humor, or be wanting in logical instincts. Such a statement is a perfect satire on denominational religion. If it be sufficient to teach men "Christianity," what can "denominational religion" claim in the way of respect? Besides, what denomination or sect is there that does not claim that its view is the true Christianity? If it does not make this claim, it has either no right to remain apart from other sects, or it must not distinguish between sectarianism and Christianity.

But granting that denominational religion is not to be recognized, and that simple Christianity is to be, how much better does this make the case? If the term "religion" cannot be made clear except in the conception of sectarian beliefs, neither can the term Christianity. We indulge the illusion that it can be, because, no matter what denominational creed we accept, we are ready to call all "Chris-

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tians" who accept the Bible as their authority. But it is to be remarked that such a conception is so comprehensive that it can maintain self-consistency only by denoting nothing more than the one fact that all persons by that name defer to the Bible for guidance. Yet it does not imply any distinctive theological belief whatever. Hence, if we are to banish denominational views, we must eliminate all differences but the one of allegiance to a certain document. To see what must be eliminated, therefore, we have only to ask what there is in common between a Unitarian and a Roman Catholic? Nothing but the fact mentioned, and even the difference is marked in this. The Unitarian looks at the Bible as an authority much as a debating society would look at Cushing's Manual—a guide whose merits were to be decided by the society and then self-imposed as an authority with a limited power. But the Roman Catholic, whatever authority he may concede to the Pope or the church, must accept the Bible without any questions from reason. As between these there will be left nothing but the belief in the existence of God and immortality as common ground upon which to base the claim of religious teaching in the public schools. I wonder, however, whether any one would suppose that the teaching of these doctrines is the teaching of Christianity. Socrates and Plato and Mahomet taught them, but no one would accuse them of being Christians. However, this is not the main question. It only leads up to the one matter which seems to get no adequate consideration in the controversy. This is the question, How shall religion be taught in the public schools? Or what place shall it occupy in the general curriculum? What method shall be adopted in inculcating it?

The usual defence of religion in the public schools comes from the consciousness that the practices of the past have been slowly decaying. In this country at one time the Westminster Catechism was a part of the teaching, though the practice obtained only in Puritan settlements or where Calvinistic doctrines prevailed, and in pioneer communities. But no one wishes this custom restored. It is only when somebody demands that the reading of the Bible be excluded that religious zeal is evoked to defend religion in the public schools. But the strangest thing of all is that Christians would have slumbered while all the sincere practices of the past were gradually eliminated, and then arisen in rebellion when some one objected to a perfunctory service which had little meaning and no influence. All the distinctive religious teaching of the past has been

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gradually discarded until there is left nothing but Bible reading and short devotional exercises which in nine cases out of ten are a sham or else have no more influence on students than counting one's beads. They are not calculated in their nature to effect any important result. They represent too small a proportion of the day's work to be of any marked influence on the mind. It is this simple plain fact that astonishes me when I see so much zeal displayed in behalf of such exercises; and the immense disproportion between what is expected of such perfunctory duties and the results of all the energy spent upon other subjects like language, literature, science, etc., makes the advocates of religious instruction in the schools worse than ridiculous. They prove by their zeal and argument either that they do not know anything about education, or that they are governed only by traditional prejudice of the blindest sort.

No public school spends more than fifteen minutes a day in religious exercises, and these are unaccompanied by instruction of any kind. Even if they were, public opinion would not tolerate anything like proselytism, and hence they must be of that formal character which makes them a merely mechanical appendage of the day's work, a concession to the prejudices of patrons, and a means of avoiding friction with those who seem to think the Bible has the virtues of a talisman. The want of seriousness and sincerity in these exercises is one of the most striking features of them to all who have any powers of observation. I could state whole pages of my observations of instances where there was no more seriousness than at a comic opera, although there was perhaps not *quite* so much laughing. But grant that they are serious and sincere, they are not conducted in a way to produce moral and religious instruction, however impressive they may be. No sort of pressure is brought to bear upon the student to attain proficiency in morality and religion by any such exercises compared with the influences employed in his general education. A student's standing in his class among his fellows, his proficiency as a scholar, and his degree or diploma, certificate of character and scholarship, are all rewards of attention and studiousness in the various branches of the curriculum. Penalties of various kinds hang over him if he does not come up to the standard required of him by his teacher. His position in life is fixed by the degree of success in his studies. Nearly all the days and weeks are given up to the languages, literature, and the sciences, and the most rigid demands are made upon attention, perseverance and excellence in

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study and recitation with a view to inculcating a given amount of knowledge in this way. But no such effort is made to inculcate moral and religious truth. Even if it were, fifteen minutes a day would not suffice,—nor even an hour, considering that it is tenfold more difficult to imbue the mind of the average boy with moral and religious interest than with the spirit of the bread-and-butter sciences and foot-ball. People who imagine that morality and religion can be taught in the manner of our public schools, after surrounding all other subjects with a vast system of rewards and penalties, and these with none, certainly have very queer ideas of education. If they could offer a prize for the best conduct during chapel services, a scholarship for proficiency in religious information, a course of study in religious doctrines, made as compulsory as mathematics and to occupy as much time, and certain special honors for excellence in it, the object which excites the zeal of the religionist might have the same chance to be realized as the object of education has in the sciences and arts. But no other policy will have such an effect. Instead of this, however, what is the present plan? About six hours a day are spent upon secular subjects with all the pressure that can be brought to bear upon the personal interests of the student to attain proficiency, and only a paltry fifteen minutes given to the religious life, and this in a perfunctory manner that only excites pity for those who imagine it can have any efficiency whatever of a moral and a religious kind. It may benefit and be respected by those who have already imbibed religion from home life. But this is to place the influence where it ought to be, and not to credit the school with any of it.

Nor does the subject fare much better in our colleges, even when they are zealous to retain chapel services and to parade as especially interested in religion and morality. Denominational institutions of the second and third order make a course in biblical instruction compulsory, but every one who has had anything to do with them knows that the students despise it, and that, so far from moralizing the majority of them, it alienates them permanently from a religious life, and is respected only by those who expect to adopt the ministry as a calling, or by a few whose religious sympathies are already well settled. But in all first-class institutions, if biblical and religious instruction of any kind is given, it is merely elective, and in most of them it is not touched at all. This fact, however, is not mentioned in order to show that the policy should be imitated everywhere;

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for I am not at present contending against such instruction. I am only indicating its ineffectiveness as actually given, and the disproportion between the time given to it and that given to other subjects. This latter fact is quite as important for the denominational colleges as for others. Even in sectarian institutions the time given to biblical instruction is very small compared with that devoted to language, literature, and the sciences; whereas, if educators were thoroughly in earnest about the prior importance of religion over all other subjects, they would be obliged to give as much attention to theological and religious instruction as was given to them by Scholasticism, if they had any genuine hopes of regenerating the world on that plan. Non-sectarian institutions, of course, when they propose such a plan, do so as a sop to Cerberus, and hence, neither by virtue of sincerity nor by virtue of the time given it, can any good influence be expected from the work. The senior class may receive some attention on the subject, while that period of wild-oats-sowing and general rowdyism so often found in the first two years of college life is wholly without such a course even in some institutions known as very conservative in religious matters. The subject is left for the maturer period of the course and of the student's life, when he is either too much addicted to irresponsible and revelling habits to get any benefit from religious instruction, or he has acquired that intellectual maturity which is very cautious about restricting the freedom of thought so dear to intellectual minds, and which religious beliefs are supposed to hamper. But in most institutions of the first rank the only religious influence which can claim any respect whatever is the chapel service, and even this is merely perfunctory as a concession to public opinion of a very unintelligent sort, while the real interests cultivated are those of the sciences and literature, taking up the whole of the student's time and energies. Such a system cannot make religious minds as the advocates of religious instruction conceive them, and is not designed to do so. It is merely a compromise with public opinion in the transition to the entire secularization of the public schools and colleges. Whether right or not, I am not here intending to say. Every one may have his own opinion on that matter. But the facts show unmistakably that the defenders of religious instruction are in a dilemma. For they must either set about an entire reconstruction of the public schools and colleges on the basis of the system in vogue during the previous two centuries, which they seem no more disposed

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to do than any one else, or they must reconcile themselves to the inevitable elimination of the subject, or to the existing condition of things, which they themselves regard as inefficient, or as a sham and a fraud.

But the chief criticism of the movement is against its conception of moral and religious instruction. If religious instruction in the public schools has any *raison d'être* at all, it is for the supposed moral effect of it upon the student, and the same is supposed to characterize the teaching of ethics. No one has the audacity to maintain that religion should be taught in the public schools on its own account. This would be a union of church and state, as every one is now wise enough to see. But advocates of its retention maintain, that while it should not be the *end* of the state to teach religion, it should teach religion as a *means* to morality; that is, as a method of inculcating moral principles; and the same persons adhere to the policy of making ethics a part of the course.

Now it may as well be said once for all that the teaching of either religion or ethics, both in the public schools and the colleges, has no tendency whatever to improve the morality of any one. This may seem to be paradoxical, but it can be demonstrated.

In the first place, wherever religion is recognized at all, either in the form of chapel service or biblical instruction, it is only either as a formal exercise, not calculated to influence life, or as a purely theoretical account of it, which is still less adapted to the production of a moral effect. In the second place, wherever ethics is taught, it is taught as a science, and is not in the least a motive influence upon the will. The trouble with all advocates of their teaching is that they imagine the whole duty of public education is performed when the *science* of some subject is recognized as a part of the curriculum. But they wholly mistake the nature of a moral education. They confuse the method of intellectual with that of moral training, and then suppose that you have only to pour into the mind a certain system of truths in order to form and correct the will. Nothing could be more fatuous and illusory. Religion and ethics as they are or would be taught in the public schools can only appeal to scientific instincts. In fact, in no institution is there any effort to treat them in any other way. But somehow the public and even educated men are laboring under the delusion that the courses of ethics in our colleges and schools are intended to create moral character. Nothing can be farther from the truth. I do not deny that they may incidentally affect some students in a truly moral way, but only by

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virtue of a predisposition of will in a direction which requires only a certain amount of information in order to make intelligent action possible. But as intended and as taught they endeavor only to analyze and explain moral phenomena, and to provide a solution for "perplexities of conscience." Both of these functions presuppose moral character to begin with, and, if this does not antecedently exist, they are not qualified to produce it. Otherwise we would have more morality than we do in the graduates of our institutions. Telling a man why stealing is wrong, or how he may solve a point of casuistry, does not moralize him. It only satisfies his curiosity, or relieves him from the sense of confusion. It does not influence his will, and this is the distinctive feature of all merely intellectual studies. Moral education requires a method of its own.

It is precisely this question that is wholly ignored by advocates of religious instruction in the public schools. They are under the illusion that you have only to stuff a man with doctrines to make him a saint. They do not say so, nor are they conscious that their method is so absurd as this characterization implies, but nevertheless their policy is nothing else. They discuss the whole problem as if we had only to retain the present Bible-reading and prayer, and a small proportion of historical and doctrinal instruction in connection with it,—say the existence of God, immortality, and perhaps eternal punishment,—in order to inspire a wholesome morality. But a little intelligence and a measurable sense of humor ought to teach them better. Moral education is not accomplished by any form of doctrinal teaching. The memory and reasoning powers may be thus developed, but the conscience never. Moral education can be effected only in three ways, which I may briefly express in three terms: example, humanity, and discipline. More fully expressed, these forces are the personal character and habits of the teacher, personal affection for students, and the disciplinary influences of life, organized on a rational basis.

The last of these methods I have not the space to discuss; nor shall I linger on the first longer than to remark that every one knows its value, and that it relies upon the imitative instincts very largely for its efficiency. There is almost an inseparable connection between what a man admires and what he is. If the student can see and admire in his master certain qualities, he is much more likely to be influenced by the contemplation of them than by any process endeavoring to indoctrinate him with the truth of those qualities as virtues.

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Good example is a rebuke and a check to any conscience neglecting its ideal. But apart from this fact, which we have no time to discuss fully, the influence of personal interest and affection for the student is the one agency that suggests the most important observations. What I wish to emphasize in regard to this is the fact that when we find any education moralizing the man, it is done by this method, and not by the intellectual part of his discipline. It is through the social and not through the intellectual instincts, that a man's moral nature is developed. If the student is conscious that his teacher has more than an economic interest in his work, and that he has less of a master and more of a guide, he will be subdued when no other influence will affect him. Chapel services and biblical instruction, however sincere or even plentiful, can never be a substitute for a personal and sacrificing interest in man; for they only inform the intellect and do not attract the affections or move the will. Moral education must be a will-moving force, not a logic-chopping process or a mind-stuffing exercise. Devotion to humanity and the cause of education is then the most important requisite, and our educational system should be organized on this basis if it would be effective.

I dare say that no one would dispute the value of this method. The advocates of religious instruction in the public schools would be the first to admit it. But what I have to remark is the fact that neither they nor any one else are bestirring themselves for the organization of our schools upon such a foundation. They are fighting about the question whether the Bible and religion shall be a part of the curriculum, while both our colleges and our public schools are conducted without the slightest reference to the most important factor of a moral education. No institution tries to secure men on the ground of their personal interest in students. The first requisite is purely intellectual talent, or orthodoxy of beliefs, or perhaps both, when possible. A man, it is true, must have no scandal about him, and must possess a "good moral character," whatever that may mean; but no method is pursued to ensure humanitarian enthusiasm and personal affection for men. The rewards of position and salary go to a very different class of persons. Brilliant scholarship and certain enterprising qualities count for more than any other endowments. These undoubtedly must be respected, and it is no part of the present contention that they should be ignored.

If we are to have a system which shall boast of its moral character

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and influence, it must be organized on a basis qualified to produce that result. Men must be employed who, like Dr. Thomas Arnold of Rugby, can give themselves up to moulding the character of students, and not to mere personal aggrandizement in science, literature, art, and philosophy. But not even in our religious institutions is such a policy thought of, much less in the public schools. They are all organized upon a mercantile and economic basis. Appointments, promotions, and salaries are all regulated by a policy that confers a premium either upon purely intellectual capacities or upon all those questionable resources of power and influence which a tender conscience despises. Thus, for instance, a teacher who desires a position and salary that will permit him time and opportunities to do the best that he is capable of, must contend against a disposition to value his services from a financial and not a moral point of view. He will be burdened with any amount of work, and no attempt made either to relieve him or to do him justice in the matter of salary, unless an offer elsewhere threatens the institution with the loss of his services. In this way, not by good work and moral earnestness, he can secure recognition and fairer treatment. I am told that this is the condition in every college in the country except perhaps one. In this state of affairs every young teacher soon finds that his only hope of a professorship, as a position with sufficient time to do his life work properly, is some means of exerting the proper pressure on the appointing powers. No attempt is made to discover his devotion to the development of men, and then to place him where he need have no concern regarding his position and responsibilities. The only force that receives any notice is the danger of losing a man, or the advertising power of a great name, which in many cases is a synonym for vanity, selfishness, and personal aggrandizement. The result is that the aspirant to usefulness must stoop to questionable means in order to compete with the less scrupulous for even the chance to do mankind a service. This is a condition which no amount of religious instruction will correct. The moralization of the student must begin by the moralization of the system of instruction, and this can be accomplished only by abandoning the mercantile and economic method for a moral one. The competition in education should not be for numbers of students, as now, nor for merely great scholars as teachers, but also for those who know how to win the affections of students and to command their reverence for moral qualities.

What the public and the boards of institutions, public and pri-

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vate, need to learn, is the all-important fact that schools and colleges are *missionary* agencies, not business corporations. The realization of that simple fact would result in a tremendous revolution of educational forces. Besides scholarship such an ideal would employ the criterion of humanitarian enthusiasm as a means of determining fitness for positions, and the teacher would be placed above the necessity of employing mercantile methods for securing a position which ought to be one of great opportunities. Hence, I maintain that the reorganization of our whole educational system upon a different basis is more important than the continuance or introduction of what now goes by the name of religious instruction. What it wants is, not men who are using the teaching profession as a means for entering some other calling,—a policy very common in the public schools,—nor men who must wire-pull or secure pressure upon higher powers in order to obtain bare justice; but men who are first placed beyond the need of seeking promotion by any other means than the quality of their work, and are then expected to cultivate personal relations with their students. This method will moralize students, and nothing else will.

Morality is a social product: it is not the result of intellectual and scientific teaching. Personal example and personal affection are its true soil, and education must be organized upon that basis in order to be effective. Nothing but the economic and materialistic spirit of even religious minds can conceal the existence and importance of this truth; for only the intellectually and spiritually blind fail to see that Christianity was founded and sustained upon this principle. Its *faith* was fidelity to the Master, trust and reverence for moral personality, and was not assent to doctrines. Could our advocates of religious instruction in the public schools be made to see this, and to spend their enthusiasm upon the reorganization of education after the manner suggested, they would find their problem solved without going into conflict with the free-thinker. But, however this may be, it is perfectly clear that they, equally with their opponents, are totally ignorant of the true method of moral education. The more is the pity; for, in truth, to them have been entrusted "the oracles of God." They wish to do mankind a service, but are still living under the shadows of antiquity, and harbor the illusion that virtue is knowledge. But if they will not transform education from an economic into a missionary agency by the right choice of men rather than by doctrinal religion, we can only cry in despair: "Israel is joined to his idols, let him alone."

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TO ROB CONSUMPTION OF ITS TERRORS.

ONE of the valuable results of modern bacteriological investigation has been the demonstration of the communicable character of some diseases which had not before been generally so regarded, and to this class tuberculosis belongs. The entire history of tuberculosis from the earliest times, when properly interpreted, constitutes a broad demonstration of its communicability. The positive proof of its nature, however, was wanting until the remarkable researches of Dr. Robert Koch, published in 1882, conclusively established the causal relation to it of a living germ, called the tubercle bacillus. The observations of Koch have been confirmed by experimenters in every country in the civilized world, and the results of all agree in confirming his conclusion, namely, that the sole exciting cause of tuberculosis is the tubercle bacillus. It follows as a necessary logical sequence to this conclusion that the disease is communicable and therefore preventable.

Tuberculosis is very widely distributed in all countries of the world, and affects both human beings and animals. It may occur in any organ or tissue of the body, but most frequently involves the lungs, and is then known as pulmonary tuberculosis, or, more commonly, as pulmonary consumption. In this form it is very prevalent.

It is desirable at the outset that a correct conception should be obtained as to the character of the knowledge afforded by bacteriological investigations. The popular impression exists to no small extent that the belief in the communicable character of tuberculosis is a matter largely of opinion, regarding which equally competent and well-informed medical men may differ. As a matter of fact the knowledge of the causes and manner of transmission of consumption is exact and complete, based on the most careful and convincing experimental observations, and there can be and is no difference of opinion among those who are conversant with the scientific facts. It seems necessary to make this clear; for the objection is heard on all sides that germs, as active agents in the production and dissemination of disease, really exist only as phantoms in the minds of over-imaginative and impractical bacteriologists.

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The evidence of the causal relation of the tubercle bacillus to tuberculosis may be summarized as follows:

A peculiar germ called the tubercle bacillus is constantly present in the diseased tissues of men and animals suffering from tuberculosis. This germ can be readily distinguished, by its morphological characteristics and its reaction to staining fluids, from all other micro-organisms; it is never present in any disease excepting tuberculosis; it has been grown or cultivated in proper substances outside the living body for long periods of time; and when the growths or cultures suspended in distilled water are used for the inoculation of susceptible animals, the same disease, tuberculosis, is produced, with the same changes in the tissues; and in these diseased tissues the same germ is present with the same morphological appearances and the same staining reactions. Finally it has been shown that no other kind of living or dead thing can or does produce this disease, when used for such inoculations.

When the tubercle bacilli gain entrance to the body they produce small new growths or nodules, called tubercles. These tubercles tend to soften, and the discharges from the softened tubercles, containing the living germs, are thrown off from the body. In consumption the expectoration is partly composed of the softened tubercles, and contains the germs often in enormous numbers. It has been shown that in some cases of pulmonary consumption many million tubercle bacilli are discharged in the expectoration in the course of a single day. The germs thus thrown off do not grow outside the living human or animal organism except under artificial conditions, although they may retain their vitality and virulence for long periods of time. After being discharged, the sputum frequently becomes dried and pulverized and then suspended as dust in the air. Thus the air in rooms which have been occupied by consumptive persons becomes infected and capable of producing the disease when inspired by healthy individuals. It has been shown experimentally that the dust removed from the walls, mouldings, and pictures in rooms in private houses and in hospital wards and hotel bedrooms, which have been occupied by consumptive patients, is capable of producing the disease, when used for the inoculation of susceptible animals.

It has also been abundantly established that tuberculosis may be transmitted by meat or milk from tubercular animals. The milk glands in milch cows often become affected with the disease when their lungs are involved, and the milk from such animals may

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contain the tubercle bacilli and is capable of producing the disease. Among stall-fed dairy cows 70 or 80 per cent are sometimes found to be affected with tuberculosis. Boiling the milk or thoroughly cooking the meat destroys the germs. Although the meat and milk from tubercular animals constitute actual and important sources of danger, the disease is acquired, as a rule, through its communication from man to man.

As the tubercle bacilli do not multiply outside of the living body, excepting under artificial conditions, and as it has been proven experimentally that the disease is due to these germs, it follows as a necessary sequence that, when the disease occurs, it must be produced by the same individual germs that have been thrown off by some other human being or animal suffering from tuberculosis.

There exists a very strong popular belief in the hereditary character of tuberculosis. The minds of most people have been impregnated with this idea from earliest childhood. It is, however, a belief entirely without scientific proof. While it cannot be denied that there is a possibility, in the rarest instances, of direct transmission at birth, yet the evidence of this having ever occurred in the human being is exceedingly doubtful. In families where the disease is supposed to be inherited, it does not appear in the offspring soon after birth, but only after several months, or, more commonly, after many years. Parents do not transmit the disease itself to their children, but they may transmit a constitution which is particularly susceptible to this kind of infection. This inherited susceptibility simply renders the individual a more easy prey to the germs when once they have gained entrance.

The frequent occurrence of several cases of pulmonary tuberculosis in a family is, then, to be explained, not on the supposition that the disease itself has been inherited; but that it has been produced after birth by direct transmission from some affected individual. Where the parents suffer from tuberculosis, the children, from the earliest moments of life, are exposed to the disease under the most favorable conditions for its transmission, for not only is the dust of the house likely to contain the bacilli, but the relations also between parents and children, especially between mother and child, are of that close and intimate nature especially favorable for the transmission by direct contact.

While the tubercle bacillus is the sole exciting cause of pulmonary tuberculosis and of every other form of tuberculosis, it must not be

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assumed that it is the only factor in the causation of this disease. In every infectious disease it is the relation between two opposing sets of forces, which determine the question of susceptibility or insusceptibility to infection. These forces are, on the one side, the number and virulence of the germs which at a given time gain entrance to the body of the exposed individual, and on the other side the resistance of the body to these germs or the power of the body to throw off or destroy them. The resistance depends largely upon several factors, such as the avenue of entrance of the germs (*e.g.*, the alimentary tract, respiratory tract, etc.), the vital condition of the parts with which the germs come immediately in contact, and the state of general nutrition. In a large number of individuals the natural resistance to the tubercle bacillus is so great that under such conditions of exposure as exist ordinarily, the disease is not contracted.

While tuberculosis is communicable, yet it is communicated with far less facility than many other diseases, which are more properly called contagious. Ordinarily, for its transmission, long exposure to infection, and intimate association with the infected individual, are required, unless, because of some peculiar conditions, the natural resistance has been much reduced. Influences which depress the general vitality, or which produce more or less chronic affections of the air-passages, increase the susceptibility. Foul air, unhealthy occupations, food poor in quality or insufficient in quantity, impaired nutrition, defective ventilation, certain climatic conditions, heredity, bronchial and pulmonary inflammations, and especially fatigue from nursing consumptives, all act as important factors in creating a soil which is favorable for the development of the tubercle bacillus when once it has gained entrance. These factors act as predisposing causes by reducing the resistance to the germs: but they are only predisposing causes; no one of them nor all together can produce the disease unless the real exciting cause, the tubercle bacillus, is superadded.

A vast amount of evidence can now be adduced to show that consumption is comparatively rare among those who live an out-door life under normal and healthy conditions, while, on the other hand, it becomes more and more common among those whose occupations involve prolonged confinement in a more or less vitiated atmosphere. Mortality tables showing the percentage of deaths from consumption in 1,000 deaths from all causes in persons pursuing different occupations, show the influence of occupation and confinement in a vitiated atmosphere in the production of this disease. For every

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1,000 deaths from all causes, 103 farmers die of pulmonary tuberculosis, 108 fishermen, 121 gardeners, 122 agricultural laborers, 167 grocers, while among tailors the mortality rises to 290, and among drapers to 301. Out of every 1,000 deaths among printers and compositors, 461—or nearly 50 per cent of all—result from consumption. Finally, it is said that among the Cornish miners more than 600 out of every 1,000 die of this disease. The mortality is highest in those occupations which involve confinement in an atmosphere in which are suspended fine particles of dust of some kind. These particles of dust set up inflammatory affections in the bronchi and lungs, and thus a susceptibility to the disease is created. Confinement indoors, in badly ventilated apartments, with many fellow-workmen, some of whom almost certainly have tuberculosis, involves constant exposure to infection. The air of the workrooms becomes infected by the dust from dried and pulverized tubercular sputum which has been discharged upon the floor; and the tubercle bacilli which are thus inhaled find everywhere a fertile soil for their development. Epidemics of tuberculosis have been reported in factories as the result of such direct transmission from some employees, who were suffering from the disease, to others. In the municipal electrical works in Paris, Arthaud found that 32 workmen out of 38 employed were tuberculous. Four of these cases were of long standing, and had apparently infected the others; at least 23 had contracted the disease after entering the factory.

Under certain conditions, especially where there is impaired nutrition or there are local affections of the respiratory organs, persons may be easily infected with tuberculosis. In New York hospitals (where consumptive patients are admitted to the same wards with those suffering from other diseases) I have repeatedly seen persons admitted for other diseases contract tuberculosis in the ward, and leave the hospital cured of the original affection, but suffering from well-developed tuberculosis, or remain, only to die from the latter disease.

In considering the means to be taken for the prevention of pulmonary consumption it is important that a clear conception should be first obtained as to its prevalence and curability and the possibilities of its prevention. From both a sanitary and economic standpoint, all other communicable and preventable diseases sink into relative insignificance when compared with this one. If as many deaths occurred daily for one month from Asiatic cholera in New York as regularly occur from pulmonary consumption, the city would be well-nigh

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depopulated from the panic resulting. It has been shown that one-seventh of the total mortality of the civilized world is due to tuberculosis, and one-fourth of the deaths occurring during the working period of life is caused by it. Over 30,000 deaths were reported to the New York City Health Department as having been caused by the tubercular diseases during the five years ending January 1, 1893. Of these more than 26,000 were caused by pulmonary tuberculosis. The average mortality is about 100 a week. As compared with this, the total number of deaths caused by the other infectious diseases, including small-pox, typhus fever, typhoid fever, scarlet fever, diphtheria, measles, and whooping-cough, was only a little over 21,000, or about two-thirds of the number produced by tuberculosis alone.

One of the pathologists to the Vienna General Hospital (the largest hospital in the world) once said to me that there were found, in 85 per cent of the autopsies performed on persons dying in that institution, changes indicative of the existence of tuberculosis in some organ at some time in life, and in 45 per cent of the cases death was ascribed, at the autopsy, directly to this disease. In similar examinations in the charitable hospitals in New York I have found that in more than 60 per cent of persons dying from all causes in these institutions tubercular lesions were present, and in about one-half of these cases the direct cause of death was to be ascribed to tuberculosis. The mortality tables of the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York for a period of thirty years show that more than one-third of all deaths occurring among its policy-holders during early manhood are due to pulmonary tuberculosis or consumption.

In public institutions of various kinds, where there is over-crowding, want of cleanliness, poor ventilation, and poor food, the mortality often assumes frightful proportions. Baer's statistics of the mortality in the prisons of Europe show that in Austria, during a period of four years, 61 per cent of all deaths were due to tuberculosis, and that the average mortality throughout the world in prisons varies between 40 and 50 per cent of the whole number. In the monasteries of Bavaria 50 per cent of the young postulants who enter these institutions in perfect health, coming from various portions of the country, die within a few years, from pulmonary tuberculosis. Cornet has shown that for a period of fifteen years the mortality among males in the prisons of Prussia was 45.82 per cent of all deaths; in females 49.33 per cent. He directs attention to the fact that the

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mortality in prisons from tuberculosis between the ages of twenty and forty is five times that of the general population at these ages. He ascribes this excessive mortality to want of cleanliness in the cells, and infection therefrom, combined with insufficient ventilation and exercise, and want of variety in food.

The mortality statistics of New York city show that in 1892 more than 20 per cent of all deaths occurring in persons over twenty years of age were ascribed to pulmonary tuberculosis, aside from a large number due to tuberculosis affecting other organs than the lungs. The mortality from tuberculosis is far higher in many of the cities and countries of the Old World than in America. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that here the cities and houses are newer, the infection is not so widely disseminated, and the lower classes live under better sanitary conditions, have more and better food, and are subjected in their homes to less overcrowding than is the case in Europe. As one would surmise, if the disease is communicable, these factors are all important in its dissemination.

The people in general are so familiar with consumption and its great mortality, it is so insidious in its nature and often so slow in its progress, that they are comparatively indifferent to its ravages, and often unwilling to take simple and easily applied measures for its prevention.

Evidences of infection do not rapidly follow exposure to the disease, nor is it usually possible to say with certainty that the infection of an individual occurred at any given time. Weeks or months may elapse, after infection has actually occurred, before the first symptoms of the disease appear, and then these symptoms, which are really due to an incipient tuberculosis, are more often ascribed to a cold which has persisted, or to a bronchial affection, overwork, malaria, and a dozen causes and conditions other than the real one, tuberculosis. After symptoms have continued for a long time, finally a careful examination of the sputum or chest reveals the presence of well-established and perhaps far-advanced pulmonary tuberculosis. Months or even years often have passed since the time of actual infection. The result is that in a large proportion of cases, when finally the nature of the disease has been determined, it has already become so firmly established, has involved so much tissue, and has undermined so much the general health, that complete and permanent recovery is impossible, or attained only after long residence in a favorable climate, surrounded by the best conditions. Hence the popular impression that consumption is an almost certainly fatal disease.

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The fact remains, however, that the disease *is* curable, and is curable in a large proportion of cases, providing only that its nature is recognized early, and proper measures are then taken to prevent its extension. Among the poorer classes, where economic considerations render it impossible for them to remove to a favorable locality, or to enter a properly equipped sanitarium, the ultimate result, when the disease has become well established, is usually unfavorable; and yet the results of autopsies in the charitable hospitals in New York and elsewhere have shown that in a considerable proportion of cases of incipient tuberculosis, even among persons living under the most unfavorable conditions, the disease becomes stationary or retrogressive. In my own autopsies performed in the New York charitable hospitals, I have found that in about 30 per cent of the cases dying in these institutions from other diseases, there were present more or less extensive changes due to the existence of tuberculosis at some period in life. In most of these cases the disease had long since become stationary. It has been noted in the autopsies at the Paris morgue that in 15 per cent of the cases of sudden death from injuries and accident there are present the evidences of cured tuberculosis. There can be no question that consumption may, almost as a rule, be completely and permanently cured among the well-to-do classes, if the nature of the disease is recognized early, and the persons remove temporarily or permanently to favorable climates or localities.

It has been frequently stated that the discoveries of modern bacteriology have been without practical value, and that we are no better prepared to-day for the treatment and cure of infectious diseases than before the days of bacteriology. This is far from being true. In reply it may be said that the science of medicine is to find its consummation, not in the cure, but in the prevention of disease; and all the discoveries in bacteriology have tended in this direction. They have given precision to our knowledge of the causes of the infectious diseases and the methods of their dissemination, and so have made possible the employment of intelligent and efficient means for their prevention. This is particularly true of tuberculosis. The knowledge we now have of the causation of tuberculosis makes possible the formulation of perfectly efficient means for its prevention. Of the infectious diseases it is without question one of the easiest to prevent, and, when thoroughly established, one of the most difficult to cure.

The duties of State, municipal, and sanitary authorities in this

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matter are clear and specific. Comprehensive and efficient means should be at once taken for the prevention of tuberculosis. These means should consist in educating the people as to the communicable character of the disease; in instructing them in the measures to be taken to render the sputum innoxious; in the systematic employment of bacteriological examinations of the sputum for the early diagnosis of tuberculosis; in the proper disinfection of rooms occupied by tubercular patients before they are again occupied; in the establishment of public hospitals for the segregation, isolation, and treatment of the consumptive poor; in the enactment of regulations which shall forbid the employment of tubercular persons in such occupations as shall expose others to danger; in the adoption of sanitary regulations to prevent the dissemination of infection by means of tubercular sputum in places of assembly; in the governmental inspection of dairy cattle, and the destruction of those found to be tubercular.

Sanitary authorities in numerous places throughout the world have already taken measures looking to the restriction of this disease. The government of Prussia has published a series of general recommendations for the prevention of tuberculosis. The Minister of the Interior at Wurtemberg has issued instructions regarding measures to be taken against the spread of tuberculosis in public institutions. The Ministry of the Interior of Russia has also taken similar action. The Michigan State Board of Health has officially declared it a contagious disease, and included it among those in which compulsory notification is required. And finally the New York city Health Department has recently determined to inaugurate at once advanced measures for its active sanitary surveillance and the Department of Charities and Correction has at the same time signified its intention of setting apart a hospital for the exclusive treatment of consumption as it occurs among the poor.

Too much stress cannot be laid upon the importance of the proper isolation of the consumptive poor in institutions intended for this purpose, and it is exceedingly desirable that these institutions should be established outside of New York, where the conditions for recovery are more favorable than they can be in the city. If properly equipped sanitaria supported by the city could be placed among the pines on Long Island, a large proportion of the cases of incipient tuberculosis occurring among the poor, who are now unable to leave the city, might recover there, whereas, under the present conditions in the city hospitals, the disease almost certainly terminates fatally. Many of

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the insane under the care of the Department of Charities and Correction of the city of New York have very wisely been transferred to such institutions on Long Island, and there seems to be no good reason why similar institutions should not be established for accommodating the poor afflicted with this disease. It is especially among the poor that the greatest danger of transmission exists, and the isolation of these patients in proper institutions would not only make it possible to give them the best medical care and the best chance for recovery, but would also diminish proportionately the dissemination of infection throughout the city, and so the number of new cases.

The cry has been raised again and again that for humanity's sake pulmonary consumption must not be pronounced a communicable disease, and the friends of patients often declare that they prefer to expose themselves to the chance of infection rather than to have their dear ones banished, or treated as if they were plague-stricken; but this is all the sheerest nonsense. A person suffering from pulmonary consumption may be absolutely free of danger to his most intimate associates or his immediate surroundings, if only the sputum is disposed of with scrupulous care. The sputum, and the sputum alone, in some way is the source of danger; and common sense, good sanitation, humanity, and even the requirements of simple cleanliness, demand that this should be destroyed or rendered harmless. Dr. Lawrence Flick, of Philadelphia, who has studied this subject carefully, has expressed the firm conviction that with our present knowledge we have it in our power to completely wipe out pulmonary tuberculosis in a single generation, and he adds: "Were half the energy which is being spent in the almost hopeless task of searching for a specific cure for tuberculosis devoted to its extermination, the accomplishment would be assured."

HERMANN M. BIGGS.

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THE PRODUCTION OF GOLD: IS THE SUPPLY SUFFICIENT?

THE great period of gold production was during the fifties; during the sixties it was very large; but after 1871 it steadily decreased and reached its lowest point in 1883. Since 1883 the output has steadily increased. During the years of decreasing production many became frightened at the increased demand for gold, both as money and for other uses. It was then that Bismarck spoke of it, with some degree of appropriateness, as being like too scanty a blanket, for which every one struggles and which makes people squabble.

Professor Soetbeer, an acknowledged authority, has shown that, of the large production of the decade 1851–1860, fully 80 per cent was used as money, but that of the smaller product of the half-decade 1881–1885, only 25 per cent was used as money, 75 per cent having been hoarded or used in the arts. And although the production has steadily increased since 1883, Professor Suess, of Vienna, a celebrated geologist, a translation of whose latest book, "The Future of Silver," was recently printed as a Senate document, states that the annual production of gold is now almost all if not entirely used in the arts and hoarded, and that in the near future the production will decrease permanently, and so seriously that gold cannot continue to be used as a money-metal in the course of a few centuries. Let us see.

The total production of gold in 1892 may be put at $138,000,000, which is more than the average of the great years between 1850 and 1860. This total sum is composed as follows: Australia, $33,870,000;[1] United States, $33,000,000;[2] Africa, $25,101,054;[3] Russia, $24,709,362;[4] China, $3,000,000;[5] other countries, $18,331,049.

[1] From the Annual Report of the Director of the Mint, which has a well-deserved world-wide reputation for accuracy. [2] Ibid. [3] Official returns.

[4] From an authentic report made to the "Frankfürter-Zeitung." The figures for Russia and Africa differ somewhat from those in the Report of the Director of the Mint for 1892, but in his last Report (for the year ending June 30, 1893), which appeared after this paper was written, he gives substantially those given above. [5] These figures may possibly be enlarged to $5,000,000.

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The most accurate estimate is, that of the total product in 1892, of $138,000,000, about $75,000,000 was used in the arts, leaving for monetary uses $63,000,000, and it is estimated that one five-hundredth part of all the gold in existence disappears every year by this use, as in gilding, wear and tear of golden articles, abrasion of coin, etc.

It might not be uninteresting to note how largely the great banks increased their holdings of gold coin since 1880.

	1880.	1885.	1890.	1893.
Bank of England, Scotch and Irish banks....	$158,000,000	$141,000,000	$156,000,000	$188,000,000
Bank of France.....	113,000,000	231,000,000	224,000,000	340,000,000
German Reichsbank....	46,000,000	92,000,000	132,000,000	170,000,000
Imperial Russian Bank.	136,000,000	136,000,000	168,000,000	325,000,000
Totals	$453,000,000	$600,000,000	$680,000,000	$1,023,000,000

These figures certainly show anything but a scarcity of gold, at least as far as these countries are concerned.

The movement of gold during 1893 may be noted as follows: The United States gave up $7,000,000 out of its probably increased total product. India seems again to have absorbed her own product, and to have imported gold instead of exporting. Russia continued to accumulate gold, but in smaller quantities than before. France and England continued to add to their holdings, while Germany lost some of its gold. It is of course too early at this time to tell accurately the distribution of the new product; but that it will be larger than in 1892 seems to be certain, and there is a good prospect for a large increase in the production of gold in the near future.

Gold-mining in the United States received a great stimulus through the shutting down of silver mines caused by the low price of silver. Many men were thrown out of work, and took to gold-washing in gulches and on bars where they could make a living. In this way placers and quartz veins that had been abandoned are now worked, and they more than compensate for any falling off which may have been caused through the shutting down of those silver mines that produce a small quantity of gold as a by-product. Great activity is reported all over California, Nevada, Idaho, Montana, Arizona, and other States and Territories. The Cripple Creek mines of Colorado which will soon be connected with the rest of the world by a railroad, promise a continuously increasing yield, and in California there are signs of a great revival through the resumption of hydraulic gold-mining, which has for years been prohibited by law. From this source alone more than $10,000,000 was won;

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and, though it is very doubtful whether this figure will again be reached, the output of California will be largely increased in the near future. In some localities ores assaying only a little more than $2 a ton can be worked profitably, and the Treadwell mine in Alaska pays good dividends from ore which is worth less than $3 a ton. All indications point to the probability of an increased yield for 1893 and following years. It will be a very conservative estimate if we place the figures for the production of the United States in 1893 at $35,000,000.

In Australia the great Mount Morgan mine has steadily decreased in productivity. This mine is situated near Rockhampton, in Queensland. The rich gold-bearing rock was quarried out on the top of the hill, and tunnels and shafts were sunk until almost the entire mountain was removed. Mount Morgan produced 340,669 ounces in 1889, 226,240 in 1890, 146,000 in 1891, and 119,000 in 1892. With all this the production of gold in Australia is again on the rise, owing to improved processes and the increased facility of transportation. New gold fields have been discovered in West Australia, and there are great hopes of a large increase in the yield. There is increased activity also in the colony of Victoria, particularly in the Bendigo fields and in the Ballarat district. The total production of Australia for 1893 may safely be put at the same figure as that of the United States, namely $35,000,000.

New placers and quartz veins are continually being discovered in Mexico and South America, and great hopes are entertained of the Playa de Oro placers in the Esmeralda district, Ecuador. These countries, which until now have not been large producers, may at no distant time become more prominent.

The product of Russia, which of late years has enabled that government to amass the largest hoard of gold in the world, reached its highest figures between 1877 and 1880, but it has been steadily rising again during the last few years. Russian gold is principally derived from placer mining, and the largest producer is eastern Siberia, where only the richest placers can be worked, owing to unfavorable climatic and economic conditions. There is, however, much room for improved methods; and, after the great Siberian railroad is completed, there will be a revolution in Siberian gold-mining. This line (the longest in the world) is to extend to Vladivostok on the Pacific Ocean, a distance of 4,700 miles, at a cost of $200,000,000. The eastern and western sections are to be completed in 1896, but the

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intermediate sections will not be completed until 1904. It will then probably be possible to pay more attention to quartz-mining, and there will surely be no falling off in the production in the mean time, even if a large increase cannot be expected for some time to come. A yield at least equal to that of the present seems to be assured for a long period. According to the latest reports a small increase may be expected for 1893 and it would seem reasonable to expect an output for that year of $25,000,000. There is, however, no probability that this year's output will be available for the European money market any more than the production of the last few years.

India has lately again become a producer, her production last year being somewhat over $3,000,000. From reports for the first nine months of last year it appears there will be an increase of almost $1,000,000, and the production for 1893 can safely be put down at $4,000,000. There are reports of an increased production in Mexico, but no reliable data are to be had so far. A slight increase will be had in British Guiana, and perhaps all the smaller producers together may show an increase of $1,000,000.

The country which is destined to play the most important rôle in the future, South Africa, has been a producer only since 1887, when its output amounted to less than $2,000,000. Before that time its production was of no importance. After 1887 the yield was as follows: 1888, $4,400,000; 1889, $8,300,000; 1890, $10,859,400; 1891, $15,428,000; 1892, $25,101,000. These figures vary considerably from those of the Director of the Mint, but they are based on official returns published by the Mining Chambers and the Ministry of Mines in the Transvaal. For 1893 we have the official reports published by the Chamber of Mines at Johannesburg for the first ten months which show an increase over 1892 of 200,000 ounces, and there is no reason to doubt that this ratio will be kept up for the rest of the year. The result for South Africa will therefore probably be $30,000,000.

The world's production for 1893 will perhaps be $148,000,000, divided as follows: United States, $35,000,000; Australia, $35,000,000; South Africa, $30,000,000; Russia, $25,000,000; India, $4,000,000; China, $3,000,000; other countries, $16,000,000. This is an increase of more than $17,000,000 over the figures of the Director of the Mint, and $10,000,000 over our figures, for 1892. The probabilities are that even this estimate is too low, as a much larger increase is expected in the United States and Australia; and

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from a semi-official source we learn that the Bureau of the Mint estimates the production of gold for 1893 at $150,000,000.

It is ever a hazardous undertaking to make predictions as to the future of gold-mining. Those who, like Professor Suess, take a very pessimistic view, and who expect, in the course of a few centuries, a permanent decline in the production, may be true prophets. In one particular they are certainly right. The more thickly populated the earth becomes, the more improbable are new finds of alluvial deposits such as enriched the world in the past. The gold of the future must be won by laborious scientific processes, and gold-mines can be worked as a rule only under favorable economic conditions. While in the golden days pan and shovel were sufficient, large capital is now required. Individual labor can do very little; and while undoubtedly gold is distributed widely and in large quantities over the earth's crust, the ores are for the most part very poor. Yet when we consider that in some sections ore containing only $2 in gold per ton (or, in other words, where gold forms only the $\frac{1}{320000}$th part of a ton in weight) can be made to pay, we must not despair of the future, particularly as we know that enormous quantities of these low-grade ores exist. Though we can reasonably expect that new veins will be discovered in the various countries where gold is found, we have no good reason to expect anything but a slowly increasing output in the United States, Australia, and Russia. A large increase may of course take place in any of the other countries which now produce little.

The only country, however, which promises to increase its annual yield largely with any degree of certainty, is South Africa.[1] Its gold-fields extend over a large area, and new discoveries are being made every year. The principal districts are: Witwatersrand, north of the Waal River; to the east, the De Kaap fields, with the districts of Swazi-land and Lydenburg; to the north, the gold-fields of Marabastadt, Zoutapansberg and Murchison Range; and, beyond the Limpopo, Matabeleland and Mashonaland (the scene of war between the South African Company and King Lobengula).

In the Witwatersrand the gold is found in a formation where no geologist would have looked for it. In fact one declared that he would sooner have expected to find it in the moorlands of Scotland than in such a spot. Recent borings in the gold-bearing reefs have

[1] The data referring to South Africa are taken from a valuable pamphlet by Georg Heim, entitled "Must We Look for a Decrease in the Production of Gold?" (Berlin: Leonhard Simison.)

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shown them to continue downward to a depth of 2,400 feet. The present workings are very near the surface, and there is certainly a prosperous future ahead for the district. Formerly the mines were badly managed, more with an eye to the stock-market than to the benefit of the stock-holder. Expenses were heavy, and when it was found that at a certain depth the ore became more difficult to treat, as is quite usual in gold-mines, there was general consternation. However, after the completion of the railroad to Johannesburg, expenses were reduced greatly. Thus, in 1889, expenses per ton were on an average from $12 to $15; in 1890, $9; in 1891, $7.50; in 1892 only $5.50, and in a great many mines less than $5. At the same time new processes were invented, and now as high as 95 per cent of the assay value is obtained. All the mines are increasing their facilities, and with the increase of the number of stamps and the decrease in the cost of obtaining the gold, a constantly augmenting yield may be looked for during the next few years. The output for November, 1893, was the largest in the history of the Rand,—138,640 ounces, against 106,794 ounces for the same period of the previous year. This is at the rate of $30,000,000 a year for the Witwatersrand alone. The other districts will undoubtedly increase their production greatly as soon as they are connected with the sea-coast by railroads. The locomotive will open up a vast storehouse of treasure to the world. Those who know the country well think that there is a gold-field in the Transvaal which will not be exhausted in centuries. Hamilton Smith, an American mining engineer, thinks that in three or four years the output will be more than $50,000,000, and that this can be kept up for more than a generation from those mines alone which are being worked at present. They, however, form only a small part of the gold-bearing districts. New discoveries are being continually made, and it is not unlikely that in 1895 Africa will head the list of gold-producing countries. A writer on this subject (Georg Heim) thinks that the gold production of South Africa will not reach its maximum figures during the next thirty years. He does not consider it at all certain that the Witwatersrand will continue to remain at the head of the gold-producing districts of South Africa. That country alone guarantees a steady increase in the production of gold for decades, and it is not impossible that in a few years a quantity of gold not far from $100,000,000 will be available for monetary uses. If this should prove true, it would seem futile to speak of an impending scarcity of gold.

J. E. FRAENKEL.

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INCOMES OF THE PROFESSIONAL CLASSES IN ENGLAND.

In writing of the incomes of professional men in England, one must clear the way by saying that money has a greater purchasing power in England than in the United States. Practically all the necessities and all the comforts of life cost less in England than with us. In the mere matter of servants alone, wages are less than one-half, and the domestics are so much better trained, and the service rendered is so superior, that there is hardly any comparison. This statement regarding competency applies not so much to the servants in a great London establishment as compared with those in a similarly expensive establishment in New York, as to domestics all over England as compared with those all over the United States. Outside of the great cities—where servants' wages are noticeably higher—one might have, say, four female servants and one male servant for less than $500 a year, while in the United States the wages of the same number would be over $1,200 a year. In England, too, the servants are a satisfied and self-respecting class, while with us they are an ambitious contingent representing in their own eyes a temporary social misfortune. It would be difficult to find a male American whose ambition is limited to the attainment of the position of butler in a private family, but many an Englishman looks forward to this as sufficient reward this side of that bourne, where, as there is no marrying and no giving in marriage, there are probably no families requiring men in plush and knee-breeches ranged around a dinner-table. A man with an income of $5,000 a year in England can have—and does have as a matter of fact—more servants in his household, with all the time- and friction-saving which that implies, than a man with twice that income in the United States. All domestic labor, from the scullery and the stable, to the school-room and the private secretary's desk, which is looked after by either men or women, is more skilfully and more cheaply done, and costs from one-third to one-half less. The actual value of a man's income is completely dependent upon its purchasing power, and it is important to know, at least approximately, what, and how much of that, one

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can get for a given sum per annum. Where the necessities, comforts, and luxuries of life are dear, money counts for less than where they are more conveniently at hand and less costly. It is well to bear in mind, therefore, that, generally speaking, $5,000 in the United States is equal to about $6,000 in England—or even more, if one live outside of London; and further, that, as the income increases, its proportionate purchasing power—up to a certain point—becomes greater, so that where $5,000 is worth $6,000, $10,000 is worth nearer $13,000. This is due to the fact that, where men and women are cheap, everything dependent upon men and women for its existence is cheap in proportion. Therefore not only household service, but all kinds of labor, and manufactures which are the result of that labor, are cheap.

Great ability, however, and power to influence and direct men, whether for good or for evil, are unmanufacturable; no law of supply or demand affects them—Mr. Buckle notwithstanding; and neither protection nor free trade can increase or diminish the supply. As a consequence these powers are paid largely, splendidly, and out of all proportion. Money is more carefully hoarded and more watchfully expended in England than with us, and it is a matter of more thought and pride to provide for one's family. The number of people with small incomes derived from legacies is enormous as compared with us; and among professional men—especially the clergy—these additions to what they actually earn must be taken into consideration. Still another factor entering into the problem is the shifting value of professional service. Professional men in all countries are dependent for their earnings upon certain non-material and subtle forces that are difficult to analyze. It is impossible to make an algebraic formula out of professional abilities and professional usefulness to society. When the coal-miners strike, we all shiver, nor is it very difficult to calculate the part that the services of these men play in making our comfort. We could say, each one of us, according to the number of our fires, that coal represented a given amount in the sum total of our happiness. But it is a more cobwebby problem to calculate just what our loss would be should all the teachers, all the clergy, all the physicians, all the artists, or all the lady novelists, go out on strike. Hence the earnings of professional men are largely—not to say wholly—dependent upon the spiritual as well as upon the material conditions of the age in which they live. The earnings of Shakespeare and Milton were small;

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while in another age Macaulay received more than half a million dollars for his History of England, and Scott a still larger sum for his novels. People were hungry for fiction even when the historian wrote the fiction and the novelist wrote the history. Two hundred years ago, no actor—who was not either a politician or a clergyman—could hope to make either respectable friends or a respectable income. To-day, however, not only has the actor, Henry Irving, received a degree from Oxford University, but he has also made a very respectable fortune; while Ellen Terry and Ada Rehan, and other women who use their heads less and their other extremities more, are said to make wages as high as their saltatorial attainments.

The blood-letting, leech-applying medical man of a century or more ago ranked socially and financially with the apothecary's clerks of to-day. But there died not many weeks ago in England the physician, Sir Andrew Clark, who is reputed to have had an income of from $75,000 to $100,000 a year. Not only was his income large, but Westminster Abbey was crowded to the doors when the last words were said over his bier, and England's Prime Minister attended as chief mourner.

Of teaching as we know it in the United States in our ubiquitous public schools, there was none in England until within the last fifty years; and even now state-supported education is in its infancy there. The clergy of the Established Church are, *ex officio*, one of the estates of the realm, and their incomes have been derived almost entirely from the rentals of glebe lands, making it difficult to calculate what sums they have received in the past. Of their pitiable financial condition in the present, there will be a word to say later. Dissent is paid in the persons of its propagators, as with us, in proportion to their "drawing power." There is one element, however, in English society, which colors and tempers all its ramifications, and that is the reverence for and the worship of success. The phrase, "there is no success like success," might be changed to "there is no success like success in England." Every man—professional or otherwise—who gets to the top of his particular ladder in England is paid not only in money, but in comforts, in homage, and in admiration, out of all proportion to those below him. The heads of the great Public Schools, the great prelates of the church, the Lord High Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice, and the Attorney-General; the popular physicians, the eminent barristers, solicitors, and civil-engineers,—make what in a democracy would be deemed fortunes every

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year. On the other hand, the professional rag-tag and bob-tail receive less notice and less money, and are far more restricted in their social opportunities than with us. In giving figures relating to professional incomes in England, this chasm—impassable except to the strongest—between mediocrity and success, becomes at once the most striking and depressing feature of the discussion.

In the Church, the archbishop of Canterbury receives £15,000 a year, which is equal to $80,000, or probably more; while the average income of the clergy is well under $1,000 a year. A very successful barrister like Sir Charles Russell has an income variously estimated at from $75,000 to $100,000 a year; while it is said on good authority—one of themselves—that eighty per cent of the barristers make nothing; those who make anything make $1,200 a year, those of the next grade $5,000; then $10,000, which is the top score for the great majority; and then a very limited number who make $25,000 a year. Practically the same figures hold good for the medical men, with the exception that the percentage of those making nothing is smaller,—an indication not wholly without significance as implying that the Briton would rather pay to have the gout than to have a quarrel where fists are barred. The head masters of the highest class of schools, as Eton and Harrow, receive from $25,000 to $35,000 a year and an official house, while according to the last report of the London School Board the average income of 318 head masters under their control was £280 8*s.* 11*d.*, or about $1,400 a year; and of 1,984 assistant masters £128 9*s.* 2*d.*, or about $640. In the "National" and "British" schools, of which there are a far greater number, the salaries are considerably lower, and in the parochial schools they are lower still. It is well to state in this connection that the elementary schools of England are divided as follows:

National or other Church of England schools	11,307
British or undenominational schools	1,221
School Board schools (created by the Educational Act of 1870)	4,200
Roman Catholic schools	929
Wesleyan schools	528

Here again, as in the Church and the State, the prizes are splendid and the general average paltry. Thus, the heads of such schools as Eton or Harrow have incomes of not far from $35,000 a year, and assistant masters—of whom there are as many as fifty at Eton and probably forty at Harrow—receive from $10,000 to $15,000. Some dozen or more of these assistant masters have boarding-houses for the

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boys, which add anywhere from $2,500 to $8,000 a year to their fixed salaries, according to their size, management, and the pedagogical view taken of the necessities of the puerile appetite. Next come such schools as Winchester, Charterhouse, Rugby, Shrewsbury, Wellington, where the head master receives from $15,000 to $22,500, and assistant masters (who also add to their incomes by their boarding-houses) from $600 to $2,500. But the men and women in the ruck of teaching do not average more than $450 a year.

In the endowed boys' schools often known as King Edward's grammar schools, the head masters receive from $1,000 to $2,500 and a house. These schools, now that railways have made access to more famous schools easy, are less important, and they teach a few boys classics and give the majority a commercial education.

The head masters and assistant masters in the great public schools are almost without exception Oxford or Cambridge graduates, and usually high-honor men, and men who are promoted, when in orders, to the highest offices in the Church. Formerly most of the masters were clergymen; now not half of them are such.

The teachers in the Board and parochial schools are educated as pupil teachers and at training-schools, and must be certificated before they can teach. They may be understood to represent here the general run of teachers—by no means the crack teachers in the Massachusetts High Schools, however—in the public schools of the United States. In the girls' departments of these Board schools, according to the London School Board report, 325 head mistresses receive on an average $1,040 a year, and 1,175 assistants $500 a year. In the infant department the average pay of 330 head mistresses was $955, and of 1,936 assistants $495 a year. In private schools for girls, assistant mistresses who have certificates from Girton or Newnham receive as much as $600 a year; while in smaller schools—probably more particularly for "young ladies"—there are teachers receiving $200 a year and their board.

In the province of teaching, as in every other in England, it is thus seen at a glance that the prizes are far more valuable, mediocrity more distressingly underpaid, and the rough average salary slightly less, than with us. At the very top are the head masters of Eton and Harrow and at the bottom is the assistant school mistress.

	Head Masters.	Asst. Masters.
1. Eton and Harrow	$35,000	$5,000 to $12,000
2. Winchester, Rugby, Charterhouse, Wellington, Shrewsbury	10,000 to $22,000	1,500 to 4,000

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	Head Masters.	Asst. Masters.
3. Dulwich, Bedford, Merchant Taylors, Clifton, Lancing	$6,000 to $10,000	$1,000 to $2,500
4. City of London School, Mill Hill, larger grammar schools	5,000	750 to 1,750
5. Endowed boys' schools (King Edward's grammar schools)	1,000 to 2,500	400 to 900

	Head Teachers.	Other Masters.	Head Mistress.	Other Mistresses.
6. Church schools	$590	$350	$360	$240
7. Wesleyan[1] schools	840	735	415	245
8. Roman Catholic schools	570	515	320	250
9. Board schools	790	635	550	390

The figures given for the first three classes of schools—an arbitrary division for purposes of convenience solely—are only approximate, and can be nothing more, since the incomes are dependent upon changing circumstances,—the popularity of the school, the prosperity of the country, and the ability of the master himself in matters of business. The figures given for the fourth and fifth groups are fairly accurate—precise statements having been obtained from several masters; and for the Board and parochial schools the figures were obtained from official sources.

The incomes of the masters and tutors—or professors, as we call them—in the universities, vary somewhat, though not in proportion to the wealth of the colleges themselves. The incomes of the various colleges at Oxford range from $10,590 at Worcester to $159,885 at Christ Church; and at Cambridge University from $23,545 at Magdalen to $175,935 at King's. Heads of colleges receive, however, from $5,000 to $7,500, roughly speaking. The head of Christ Church, being dean of the cathedral as well as head of his college, and also generally, though not necessarily, vice-chancellor of the University, has an income of $11,250, and the Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, has about $10,000; but these are the exceptions. A fellowship is worth from $1,000 to $1,500, and these are generally combined with lectureships worth perhaps $750 more. These, again, lead on to tutorships, which depend upon fees as at the Ger-

[1] The salaries paid in the Wesleyan schools are higher because they have no schools in country villages, nor to any extent in the poor parts of towns; and the comparatively few schools that they still keep open have a high average of salary, as a consequence of this, and not through any different degree or form of piety that expresses itself in pounds, shillings, and pence. Hence theologians must remember that this offers no material for party purposes, but is only another instance of that statement which claims that there are three kinds of lies,—lies, d—d lies, and statistics!

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man universities, and may be roughly put at $2,000. Professorships vary enormously, according to the endowments of the chair and fees, and range from $250 to $5,000. At Cambridge there is much and very expensive private tuition, amounting, indeed, almost to a scandal; at Oxford there is less. A man with a wide reputation as a first-rate "coach" may make a large amount every year from tutoring alone,—far more than is made by tutors in our colleges.

No question is more discussed in the Establishment to-day than that of the greatly diminished incomes of its clergy. It has come to be more than a serious question and is now menacing the very life of the Church. The agricultural depression in England has cut into the incomes of these men, who are dependent upon the rentals derived from glebe lands for their payment. To give an idea of how rapidly incomes have decreased, there were, in 1880, 2,587 benefices with incomes under $1,000; now there are 4,173 benefices in this class. Nearly one-third of the total number of benefices in England and Wales are now under $1,000, and there are 1,379 with an average income of less than $320 a year. In 12,142 benefices out of the total number of 14,108 in the dioceses of England and Wales, the net value of the benefice is less than $2,000 a year, and in the great majority of these very much less. It is easy to calculate from these figures what the average income of the clergy of the Church of England is to-day. The incomes of dissenting ministers in England range from $500 and less to about $3,000 in the larger towns, while perhaps a dozen men of such exceptional histrionic talents as the Rev. Joseph Parker of London receive $5,000. The incomes of ministers in our large cities, which range from $3,500 to $15,000 (including fees and perquisites), are unknown here, and such yearly accumulations from writing, lecturing, and general mountebanking as are made by a few American ministers are unheard of.

In the ranks of writers and journalists it is not so difficult to put limits to incomes, even though the profession have no modesty in saying with Boileau:

> "Qu' on peut sans crime,
> Tirer de ces écrits un profit légitime."

The writing of educational books is most profitable, and a man whose Latin grammar is taken by the public schools makes a fortune. There are probably some 250 people in England making some kind of a living by writing novels. Of these about 50, with this and other work, clear over $5,000 a year; a dozen make $10,000,

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and perhaps two or three $15,000. Essayists and poets as a rule make nothing, and the great majority of novelists make nothing, which is very right and proper. Journalists of the first rank make $5,000 a year, but, except a very few editors, none reach $10,000. Journalists who are reporters or paragraphists and do all kinds of work make from $1,000 to $2,000 and have none of that "delicious celebrity" which M. Zola, with genuine Gallic effeminacy, rates so highly. Most of the work on English journals is done as piece-work and not by salaried employees, and not only is the piece-work paid poorly, but salaries, with a few notable exceptions, are small. Where the editor has a proprietary interest, as in the case of the "Times," the "Daily News," and perhaps other papers, it is impossible to make estimates. The "Times" pays certain leader-writers as much as $5,000 to $6,000 a year, and the "Standard" has one or two men on its permanent staff who receive as much. Such a paper as the "St. James Gazette" probably pays its editor $5,000; the "Daily Chronicle," $4,000; the "Globe," a small conservative paper of little weight, not more than $2,500. The "Times" pays $25 for a column of 1,800 words of inside matter, and $20 for the same amount of minor matter. The "Standard" pays $15 to $20 for 1,600 words. The big quarterlies pay at the rate of $5 a page, and top pay is $5 for 500 words. The "Saturday Review," whose editor is paid about $4,000 a year, and the "Spectator," whose editor has a proprietary interest, used to pay $18 for 2,000 words: they now pay less. That blue-eyed and vegetarian conversationalist, Mr. Bronson Alcott, whose proudest title to fame is that he was the grandfather of "Little Women," used to say that all things are spiral! Certainly all things are related. The extension of educational opportunities has made it so that clerks, shopkeepers, and their assistants now spend their evenings—many of them—learning a little Latin and less Greek, and a kind of cramped, polite, and finical English. Their first use of these lady-like acquirements is in writing for the papers, until now there is a vast excess over the demand of light-weight newspaper hacks; and in the great mass of the second-class journals the superficial omniscience of the hobbledehoy literary man reigns supreme.

In looking over these figures, one sees at once that the proposition of the beginning of this paper is well borne out. Probably the only apothegm in the New Testament universally put in practice in this land of top-hat-and-black-coat religion is the one promising

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much to him that hath, and a serious diminution of nothing to him that hath nothing. A great noble, say like the Earl of Roseberry, who is at once the owner of a successful racing-stable, the cabinet minister for Foreign Affairs, and the accepted and respected umpire in the late coal-miners' dispute, has more of what this world can give than mortal has often had here below; while the submerged tenth are deeper in the mud than any moccasin-and-blanket-wearing savage of our Western plains. This is by no means an implication that the successful are tyrannical oppressors, and the mediocre deluded serfs, for there are probably more men in the present House of Lords who need no patent of nobility to make good their claim to leadership than in our bullionized Senate. If this awful chasm between success and comparative failure is bad, it is due not to monarchical institutions and feudal traditions alone, but to an economic problem still unsolved. There is no such difference between the income of success and the income of mediocrity with us, and one may say merely that success is more difficult of attainment, and means more in England, and that failure means less in America. The following shows at a glance what is thus emphasized:

Annuities to fourteen members of the Royal Family, $3,000,000 per annum.
Living-wage miner with family (estimated by one of them), $390.

Archbishop of Canterbury, $75,000 a year.
Average clerical income, $600 a year.

Attorney-general, $65,000 a year.
Average barrister making anything, $1,200 a year.

Sir Andrew Clark, physician, $80,000 to $100,000 a year.
Average medical man, $1,200 a year.

Head of great public school, $30,000 to $40,000 a year.
Sub-master in small school, $500.

Editor and part owner of great newspaper, $25,000 or more a year.
Hack writer, $800 or less a year.

Macaulay, "History of England," $750,000.
Scott's novels, etc., (about) $1,000,000.
Essayists, poets, majority of novelists,—practically nothing.

Dissenting minister (very popular), $5,000 a year.
Dissenting minister of least "drawing power," $450 a year.

Judiciary (well-paid):
Lord Chief Justice, $40,000 a year.
Lord High Chancellor, $50,000 a year.
Judges in county and city courts, $5,000 to $10,000 a year.

Cabinet ministers, $25,000 a year.

PRICE COLLIER.

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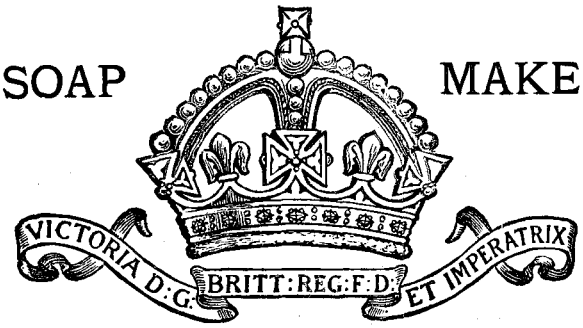

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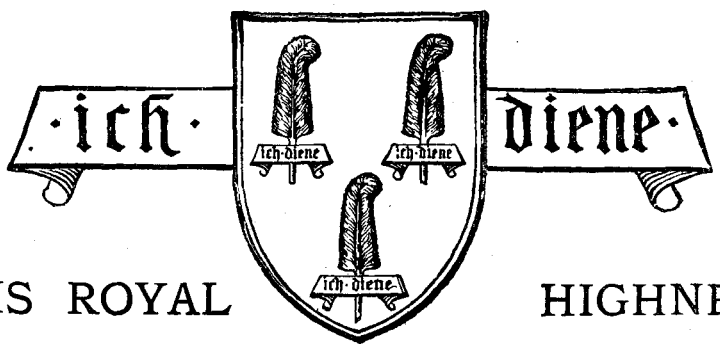

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MRS. JOSEPHINE SHAW LOWELL (*Methods of Relief for the Unemployed*) was born at West Roxbury, Mass., in 1843. She was married in 1863 to Charles Russell Lowell, Jr., of Boston, who died of wounds received at the battle of Cedar Creek in 1864. In 1876 Mrs. Lowell was appointed a member of the State Board of Charities of New York, and remained on the Board until she resigned in December, 1889. She is not only a close student of sociological problems, but is one of the foremost practical workers in the relief of distress, to which task her whole life has been devoted. Mrs. Lowell's published works are "Public Relief and Private Charity" (1884), and "Industrial Arbitration and Conciliation" (1893).

THE REV. DR. LYMAN ABBOTT (*The Personal Problem of Charity*) was born in Roxbury, Mass., in 1835. He was graduated at the University of the City of New York in 1853, and was later admitted to the bar. In 1860 he was ordained as a minister of the Congregational Church, and in 1865 was chosen Secretary of the American Union (Freedmen's) Commission. He was for a time pastor of the New England Church in New York city, but resigned that office to enter journalism. From associate editor of the "Christian Union," with Henry Ward Beecher, he became, on Mr. Beecher's death, its chief editor, and also succeeded Mr. Beecher as pastor of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn. Dr. Abbott is the author of numerous books.

MR. JAMES SCHOULER (*A Review of the Hawaiian Controversy*) was born in West Cambridge, Mass., in 1839, was graduated at Harvard in 1859, and studied and practised law in Boston, but has devoted most of his time to literary work. Since 1884 he has lectured in the Boston University Law School and in the National Law School at Washington, D. C., and he is now a lecturer at Johns Hopkins University on American Political History and Constitutional Law. He is the author of many law-books, which are largely cited and are used as text-books, but the most important of his works is the "History of the United States of America under the Constitution," which has received much well-deserved praise for its scholarship and thoroughness. He has also recently published a "Life of Thomas Jefferson."

MR. COURTENAY DE KALB (*The Nicaragua Canal—Ours or England's?*) was born in Virginia in 1861. He is a mining engineer, and has travelled extensively in Central and South America, of whose affairs he has been a close student. His writings on South American subjects in the periodical press have attracted attention both here and abroad, and many of them have been translated into Spanish and republished in South America. His recent monograph on The Mosquito Shore of Nicaragua has thrown new light on the treaty relations of the Nicaragua Canal, and explains the practical working of the Treaty of Managua.

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WRITERS IN THE FEBRUARY FORUM.

COLONEL ALBERT CLARKE (*The Wilson Tariff for a Deficit Only*) was born in Vermont in 1840. He entered on the practice of law, but forsook his profession to serve in the Union army during the Civil War, in which he won promotion. After the war he published the "St. Albans Messenger" for twelve years, and served in the Vermont Senate and in other public positions. In 1881 he became interested in journalism in Boston, and became president of the Vermont and Canada Railroad Company. In 1889 he was chosen and has since continued to be the secretary of the Home Market Club, an organization whose doctrines are: "American Wages for American Workmen; American Markets for the American People; Protection for American Homes."

MR. FREDERIC HARRISON (*English Literature of the Victorian Age*) was born in London in 1831, was educated at King's College, London, and at Oxford, where in 1853 he was elected Fellow and tutor. He was admitted to the bar in 1858, and in 1877 was appointed Professor of Jurisprudence and International Law by the Council of Legal Education. He is the chief exponent of the Positivist school, is a critic of authority, and a great master of English prose. Among his works are, "The Meaning of History," "Social Statics," "Order and Progress," and "Oliver Cromwell." He is a frequent contributor to the best periodical literature.

MR. WOODROW WILSON (*A Calendar of Great Americans*), born in Stanton, Va., in 1856, was graduated at Princeton College in 1879. He studied law at the University of Virginia and practised his profession for a while in Atlanta, Ga., but soon abandoned the law and took a post-graduate course in history and political science at Johns Hopkins University, receiving the degree of Ph.D. in 1886. He was Associate in History at Bryn Mawr College, Pa., in 1885–86, and Associate Professor in History and Political Science in the same institution in 1886–88. He then accepted the chair of History and Political Economy in Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. Since September, 1890, he has been Professor of Jurisprudence and Political Economy at Princeton College. He is author of "Congressional Government: a Study in American Politics," a work which has attracted wide attention both in this country and in Europe, and he has contributed largely to "The National Revenues," a collection of essays by prominent American economists, and has published many other articles on economic subjects.

MR. OSCAR CHRISMAN (*Child-Study, a New Department of Education*) was born at Gosport, Indiana, November 16, 1855. He was graduated from the Indiana State Normal School in 1887, and from Indiana University in 1888, the latter institution giving him the degree of A.M. in 1893. Mr. Chrisman has all his life been interested in school methods, and has had charge of public schools in Indiana and afterward in Texas, where he became Superintendent of Public Schools at Gonzales. He has been engaged in pedagogical work in the laboratory of Clark University since 1892.

MR. EDWARD ATKINSON (*The Gold Basis Fixed by Commerce Itself*) was born in Brookline, Mass., in 1827. He is president of the Boston Manufacturers' Mutual Fire Insurance Company, which wrought a revolution in the construction and security of manufacturing-buildings. He has for many years been a frequent contributor, chiefly in pamphlets, magazines, and newspaper articles, to the current literature of social and political economy. His works in book form include: "The Collection of Revenue," "The Railroads of the United States," "The Railway and the Farmer," "The Distribution of

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Profits," and others. Mr. Atkinson is one of the very foremost and most indefatigable original investigators of economic subjects in the United States.

PROF. JAMES H. HYSLOP (*A Bootless Wrangle about Religion in the Schools*) was born in Ohio, was graduated from Wooster University, Ohio, and taught at Lake Forest University, Ill., and at Smith College, Northampton, Mass. After spending two years at the University of Leipsic he received a doctor's degree at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, and was soon after called to Columbia College, New York. Dr. Hyslop has been a frequent writer for the leading periodicals and reviews in the fields of Philosophy and Ethics, and by reason of his educational experience and study of these matters is well fitted to discuss the subject of which his article treats.

DR. HERMANN M. BIGGS (*To Rob Consumption of its Terrors*) was born in Trumansburg, N. Y., in 1859, was graduated in 1882 at Cornell University, and in 1883 at Bellevue Hospital Medical College. He was on the resident medical staff of Bellevue Hospital 1883–84, and in 1884–85 studied pathology and bacteriology in the Universities of Berlin and Greifswald. In 1885 he took charge of the Carnegie Laboratory at Bellevue. He was appointed Professor of Pathology in Bellevue Hospital Medical College, and Pathologist to Bellevue Hospital, and other hospitals. In 1888 he was appointed Consulting Pathologist to the New York City Health Department. He took an active part in the preventive measures adopted during the cholera outbreaks of 1887 and 1892. In the latter year he was appointed Chief Inspector of the Division of Pathology, Bacteriology and Disinfection, of the City Health Department, and inaugurated work in the bacteriological diagnosis of cholera and diphtheria, and in 1892 was appointed Professor of Materia Medica, Therapeutics, and Clinical Medicine at Bellevue Hospital Medical College. He was one of the first workers in bacteriology in this country; has edited the American edition of Hueppe's "Methods of Bacteriological Investigation," and has been a frequent contributor to medical journals. He has been in practice in New York city since 1886, and his active experience and investigations render him especially competent to treat the subject of which he has written with authority.

MR. J. E. FRAENKEL (*The Production of Gold: Is the Supply Sufficient?*) was born in Germany in 1856, was graduated with high honors at the Royal Gymnasium in Bamberg, and studied Law and Political Economy at the University of Würzburg. He came to the United States in 1875, and engaged in literary and business pursuits, giving special attention to the study of economic questions, especially those relating to the production of the precious metals and to the monetary situation of various nations. Mr. Fraenkel has written several monetary articles for New York journals, and has taken an active part in the discussion of financial and economic problems.

MR. PRICE COLLIER (*Incomes of the Professional Classes in England*) is an American Unitarian clergyman who is well known as a writer and public speaker. He has taken a special interest in such conditions of society as are shown in his article.

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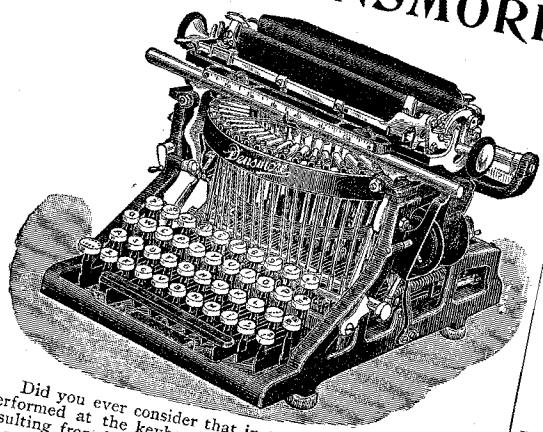

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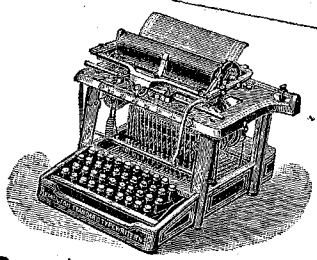

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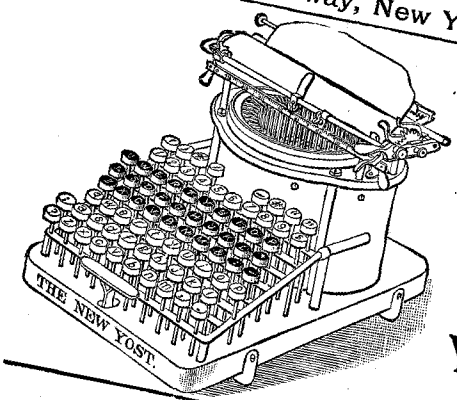

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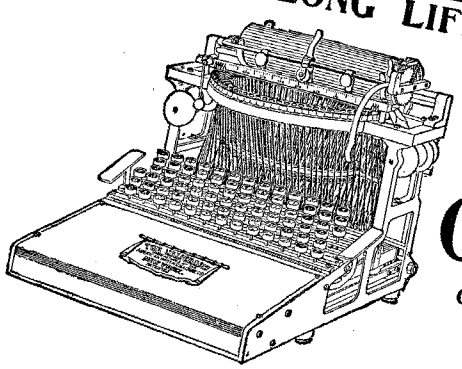

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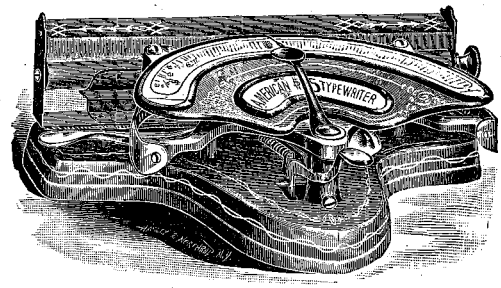

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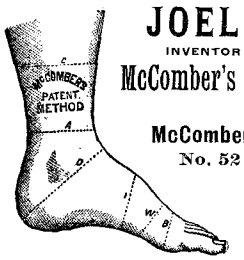

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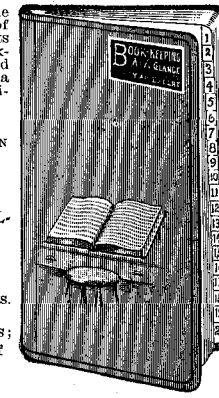

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HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP (who studied law in Daniel Webster's office, and afterward when Speaker of the House of Representatives nearly fifty years ago was associated closely with Webster in his public career) has contributed to this number his reminiscences of **"Webster's Reply to Hayne,** and his General Methods of Preparation." The personal quality of this paper and the eminence of its author make it one of the most valuable contributions to our knowledge of Webster as an orator.

"STORIES IN STONE FROM NOTRE DAME," by Theodore Andrea Cook, is a description of those grotesque figures adorning the pinnacles and niches of the great cathedral which **Victor Hugo** has put into fiction as the familiars of Quasimodo. The illustrations are among the most novel and interesting recently seen in this Magazine.

"PLACE OF THE EXODUS IN THE HISTORY OF EGYPT," by A. L. Lewis, an authority, will be especially interesting to students of sacred history.

F. MARION CRAWFORD concludes his pen picture of **Constantinople** with some of his most brilliant writing, which is picturesquely reinforced by the beautiful illustrations which **Edwin Lord Weeks** has furnished from his *sketches made on the spot during the past Summer.*

JOHN DREW contributes to this number his reminiscences of the every-day life of **"The Actor."** The article is marked by the graphic way in which he tells certain amusing and tragic incidents, and by the excellent conception of the hardships and rewards of the actor's career which he presents. It is the sixth article in the series of "Men's Occupations," and is elaborately illustrated by **W. L. Metcalf.**

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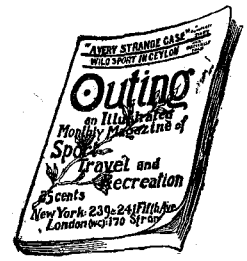

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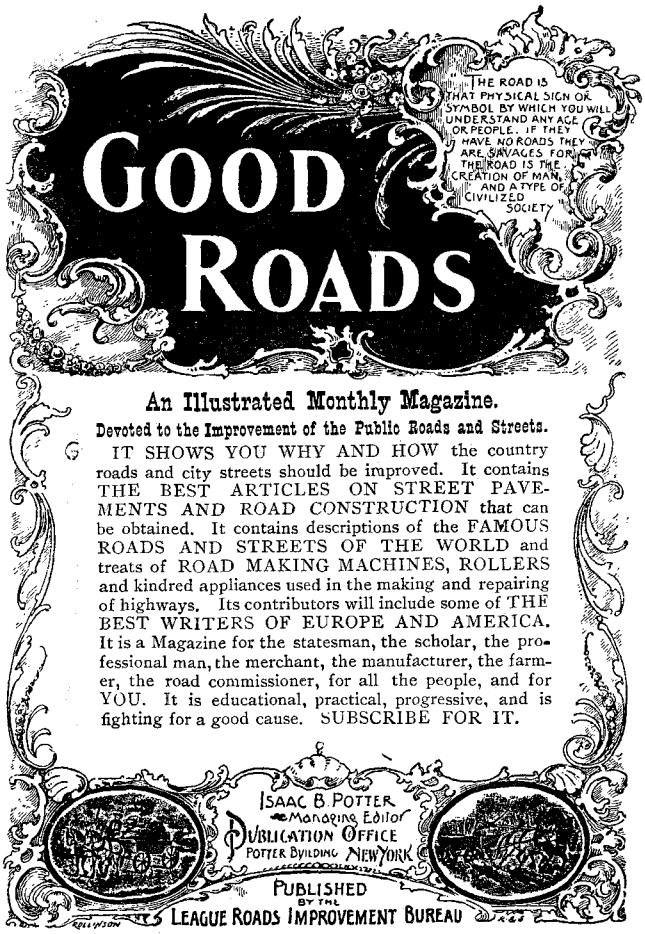
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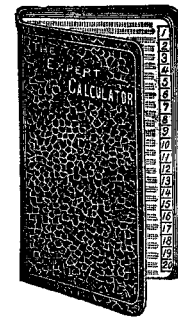

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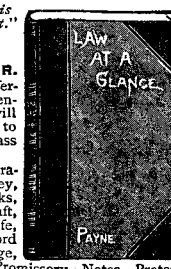

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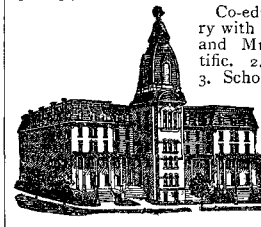

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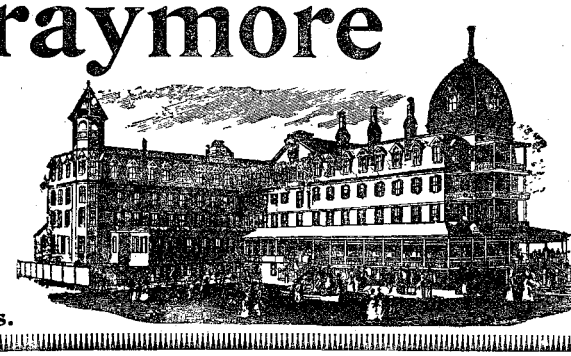

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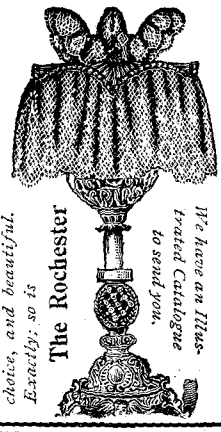

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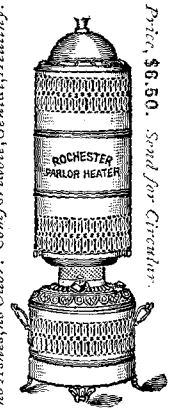

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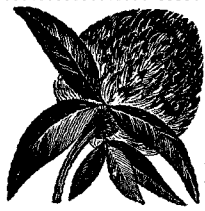

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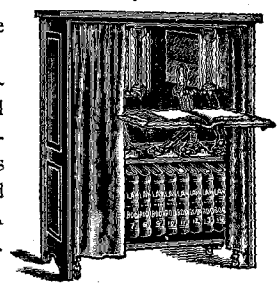

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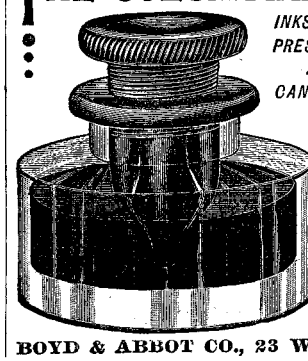

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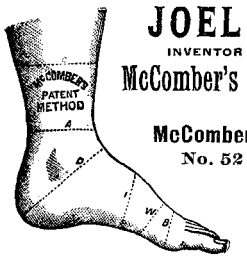

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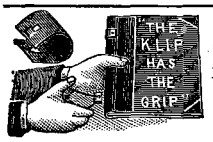

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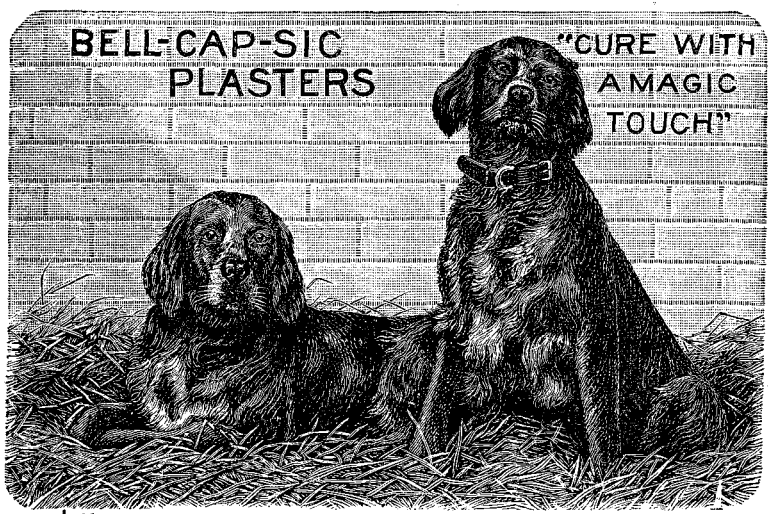

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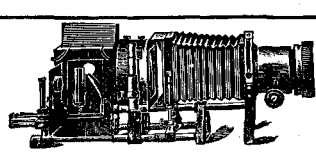

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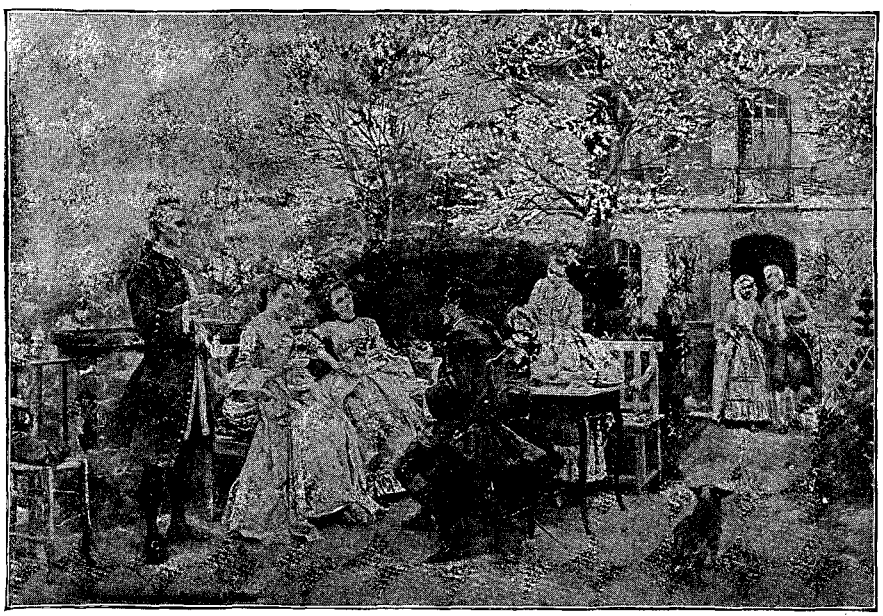

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(Vegetable)

What They Are For

Biliousness	pimples	wind on the stomach	backache
indigestion (dyspepsia)	sick headache (megrim or hemicrania)	pain or oppression around the heart	pain in the side
sickness at the stomach (nausea)	nervous headache	fluttering of the heart (palpitation)	heaviness
heartburn	dull headache	irritability	disturbed sleep
loss of appetite (anorexia)	neuralgias	nervousness	nightmare
coated tongue	fullness of the stomach (distention)	depression of spirits	hot and throbbing head
bad taste in the mouth	shortness of breath (dyspnœa)	great mental depression	coldness of hands and feet
torpid liver	dizziness (vertigo)	general debility	hot skin
			sallow skin

when these conditions are caused by constipation; and constipation is the most frequent cause of most of them.

One of the most important things for everybody to learn is that constipation causes more than half the sickness in the world, especially in women; and it can all be prevented. They who call the cure for constipation a cure-all are only half-wrong after all.

Write to B. F. Allen Company, 365 Canal Street, New York, for a little book on CONSTIPATION (its causes, consequences and correction); sent free. If you are not within reach of a druggist, the pills will be sent by mail, 25 cents a box.

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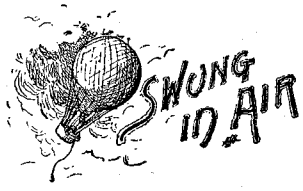

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